

THE
PRIVATE LIFE
OF
LEWIS XV.

VOL. I.

THE PRIVATE LIFE

OF
J. E. WILSON

1907

THE *G. Washington*
PRIVATE LIFE
OF
LEWIS XV.

IN WHICH ARE CONTAINED
THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS,
REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES,
AND ANECDOTES OF HIS REIGN.

— VIDEO MELIORA, PROBOQUE,
DETERIORA SEQUOR. HOR.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH
By J. O. JUSTAMOND, F.R.S.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

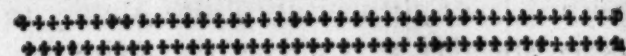
D U B L I N :

PRINTED BY JOHN PARKER,
FOR

Messrs. WHITESTONE, SLEATER, WILLIAMS,
BURNET, FLIN, MONCRIEFFE, WILSON,
JENKIN, HALLHEAD, WALKER,
WHITE, BEATTY, BURTON,
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MDCCCLXXXI.

1773



ADVERTISEMENT

OF THE

ORIGINAL EDITOR.

IF in the multitude of publications, with which libraries are incessantly burdened from the press, and which fatigue the fatiated reader, there are some that deserve favour, and can furnish entertainment—these are undoubtedly books of history, because they continually present us with fresh objects of curiosity and instruction. This is also, perhaps, the only branch of literature in which mediocrity can be put up with, by reason of its utility and necessity. Our claim to this indulgence must increase in proportion as the subject is more new and interesting. The work now offered to the public, being upon a subject, both in

itself and in its circumstances, most worthy to engage attention at this time, the Editor flatters himself, that his zeal in producing it will meet with approbation. Besides, this is a new career opened by the Author; he is the first who has removed the veil cast over the whole life of a Prince, whose character, though dead, flattery seemed still to conceal.

The plain title of this work——contrary to many others more pompous, which promise more than they perform——will deceive our readers agreeably in this respect, for they may be assured that it performs much more than it promises; they will imagine that they shall find nothing in it, but the character of Lewis XV. considered in a philosophic view, which was the Author's first design; and they will read with surprise the complete history of his reign: there does not seem to be one important fact omitted; but the whole is brought into a narrow compass, and treated with proper conciseness. The work is moreover written by a masterly hand, and with a manly freedom; it gives a natural description, not only of the character of the late Monarch——of that of the Prince and Princesses of his house——of his several mistresses——his Ministers——his Generals, &c.; but it is also interspersed with
very

very curious anecdotes, not to be found elsewhere.

This History having become more extensive than the Writer had at first imagined, it was his design, after having collected it, to distribute it into several distinct parts, plainly marked out even in the development of the subject, which is divided into four principal periods: the first is the Regency; the second, the administration of Cardinal Fleuri; the third, extends from the death of that Minister to that of the Marchioness of Pompadour; and the fourth, from the death of the Marchioness to that of Lewis XV. The Editor having been obliged to print the work as it was written, in order to satisfy the impatience of his brethren — this circumstance has prevented the Author from throwing it into this form, more agreeable, and more convenient for superficial readers; others will readily fix upon the divisions indicated.

ADVER-

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

LONDON

Printed by J. Streater, at the

Sign of the Sun in St. Dunstons Church

1679

By Authority

Printed by J. Streater, at the

Sign of the Sun in St. Dunstons Church

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ADVERTISEMENT

OF THE

TRANSLATOR.

IT is necessary to inform our English Readers, of the omissions that have been made in the following work. They are very few, and such only as it was imagined would make it more agreeable to them, and as related to matters totally unimportant. The greatest part of them are in the Appendix of the first volume. The first is, that of the list of the persons taxed, with the sums they were taxed in; an article, with which the Translator, after he had inconsiderately taken much pains to finish it—and had reduced all the livres into English money—was so disgusted, and found it so very uninteresting to an English reader, that

that he resolved to omit it. Had it been printed, it would have filled at least three sheets with tedious and useless calculation.

The other omission is that of the Poetry in the several Appendixes. This is also chiefly in the Appendix of the first volume. In the others, there are not more than three or four pages left out. This poetry consists, for the most part, of burlesque ballads, which would no more bear translation into English, than any of our most common political ballads would into French. There is something so national in the popular allusions, which always constitute the merit of this sort of productions, that they will not endure transplanting into a foreign soil. Neither, indeed, would these have been worth the attempt. Beside these fugitive pieces, there is a poem, intitled the *Philippics*, which takes up about two sheets of the original, and is likewise omitted in the translation. It would be impossible to give it in our language, at least, so as to make it interesting to an English reader; for, independent of its being a satire upon the private character of the Duke of Orleans (in many respects contradictory to what is advanced in this history) it is so extremely full of allusions to obscure persons, that it may be doubted, whether it

can

can afford much amusement, even to the French themselves, at such a distance of time from its first publication.

It is the more requisite to acquaint the Reader with these omissions, because, as they were not determined upon before the printing was far advanced, there are references found to these pieces in the body of the work, though there be nothing to answer them. The referring numbers, to prevent confusion, have been preserved as at first.

But though the Translator has left out the Poetry in the Appendixes, the Reader will find, that he has attempted, in English verse, all the little Epigrams, and other scraps of Poetry, which occurred in the body of the work. In these instances, the original is always subjoined, to gratify the curiosity of those Readers who may like to compare them; and, as the only merit pretended to, is that of having endeavoured to give the sense of these passages, it is hoped the candour of the Reader will make allowances for the rest.

The only thing remaining to observe is, that the livres, throughout the work, are all reduced to English money, at the rate of ten pence sterling per livre.

THE

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LEWIS XV.

THERE are too many difficulties attending the history of a reign just finished, to admit of an attempt to write that of Lewis XV. Besides the necessity there would be of obtaining an insight into the archives of the Ministry, which motives of policy would forbid, on account of the too close connection between present and preceding events; we should stand in need of the same access to the other cabinets of Europe: where we should undoubtedly meet with still more insurmountable obstacles. Without this assistance, not having a complete view of our objects, we should run the risque of composing an imperfect, or at least a partial work; and partiality is the greatest fault a work of this kind can have.

It is not the same with the private life of a Monarch; if it be too dangerous to write it as it passes, and under his own eye, from the fear of incurring his resentment by offending his vanity; when he is dead, we cannot be too early in collecting a multitude of facts which constitute the interesting part of it, and are often preserved only by oral tradition, the fugitive vestiges of which wear out, and are often entirely lost with their witnesses.

We shall not go out of our way to prove the utility of private memoirs; this is too philosophic an age to call it in question, and the multitude of similar publications that have been favourably received, shew how much they are now preferred to large historical collections. In fact, if the interest we take in any narrative depends upon, and is proportioned to, the secret application we make of it to ourselves while we are listening to it, what sentiment can be excited at the recital of the disgraces and successes of a Prince, who experiences misfortunes to which the reader can never be subject, or becomes resplendent with glory to which he has no right to aspire? On the contrary, when we set aside the dignity and grandeur of the Monarch, and shew nothing more than the man; every order of citizens, and every individual, will necessarily interest themselves nearly in his domestic happiness or misery, will be afflicted by the one, or rejoice at the other; since these will in some measure become common to themselves, from the possibility of their experiencing the same. But if the merit of these collections of anecdotes, when made with caution and discernment, cannot be denied, the general assertion is more particularly and justly verified with regard to Lewis XV. It is well known how fond this Prince was of a private life: it is remembered that he always quitted it with regret, to appear in his public character, and that as soon as the busy scene was over, he was impatient to retire into the interior part of his palace. Which of us has not heard his servants, his favourites, and his ministers say, "Why was not the King born in our rank? he "would have been the most amiable private man, the "best husband, the best father, and the most upright "man in his kingdom." These exclamations, which were frequently repeated, cannot but inspire us with the greatest desire of seeing Lewis XV. under these different points of view; and we proceed immediately to satisfy the impatience of our readers.

Lewis XV. who ascended the throne near-
Sept. 1. ly at the same age as his great grandfather
 1715. had done, presented a still more interesting
 sight

fight to the kingdom, and to all Europe. Being the only branch remaining, and that a feeble one, of his august family in France, his death could not have failed to excite commotions, and perhaps a fatal war, from the pretensions of the King of Spain to recover the rights of his birth: so that besides the natural affection of the nation for their Sovereigns, a motive of policy engaged them to watch with more peculiar care over this precious child.

Reports which prevailed, and were believed, concerning the fatal cause of the death of so many Princes, carried off in so short a time, could not but increase their alarms: impressed with this prejudice, the people saw their young Sovereign intrusted to the hands of the assassin of his ancestors; and the circumstance which at present furnishes the strongest argument, in refuting the calumniators of the Regent, was at that time a continual subject of terror. Undoubtedly, had the Regent been the author of these disasters in the Royal Family, of the death of three Dauphins, who expired in the palace of Lewis XIV. who were stricken under his own eye, and snatched as it were from his arms, when he had thus got the power into his hands, his vast desires would have known no bounds; but, proceeding from one crime to another, he would not have shuddered at the murder of a King, without which all his former crimes became useless; since that was the only one which could assure him impunity, and put him in possession of that sceptre, which legitimates every act of violence to the eyes of ambition.

But this reasoning, however conclusive to us, could not be so to his contemporaries. It was not therefore without the greatest anxiety, that the day after the death of Lewis XIV. they saw the 2 Sept. Parliament annul the will of that Monarch, declare the Duke of Orleans sole Regent of the kingdom, deprive the Duke du Maine of the command of the King's household troops, and even of the privilege of guarding his sacred person, and acknowledge that these offices belonged solely to the former.

B 2.

The

The steps taken by this Court, however extraordinary, were yet authorized by an instance in the preceding reign. At the death of Lewis XIII. the will of that Monarch had been also annulled, without producing any remonstrance from the people, whose rights were violated by this act. If this great event was not then attended with any consequences, at a time when the nation, agitated by factions and civil wars for the space of fourscore years, still preserved all its energy; when the general assemblies of the state, holden under the preceding reign, were not yet abolished; and when a requisition for the calling of such an assembly from the different orders of the state could not have been deemed an encroachment upon authority; it is not to be wondered at, that it should have passed with no greater opposition, at a time when all was bending under the yoke of despotism.

One circumstance, which undoubtedly contributed to make the Parliament acquiesce in the Duke of Orleans's demands, was an artful clause introduced in his speech, in which, without seeming to make any terms with the Magistrates, he granted them a privilege which in some sort made them partakers of the power with which they were going to invest him.

"But on whatever pretensions," said he, "I may found my claim to the regency, I will boldly venture to assure you, Gentlemen, that I shall deserve it by my zeal for the service of the King, and for the public good, especially as I mean to avail myself of your counsels and your *wise remonstrances*."

The privilege of making remonstrances, which this insinuation seemed to convey a promise of restoring to them, flattered exceedingly their pride, which had been hurt for sixty years past, on account of their having been deprived of it by Lewis XIV*. This alluring bait determined them on this, as well as on several occasions afterwards, to sacrifice the interest of the nation

* Or what is nearly the same thing, Lewis XIV. only allowed the Parliament to make remonstrances, after his letters, edicts, or declarations were fairly and plainly registered.

tion to their vanity ; since their own interest, if well understood, ought to have prompted them to resume their vigour and energy. For in fact, the Regent, by renewing to the Magistrates the liberty of addressing *wise remonstrances* to the throne, made them implicitly agree, that he had a right to take that privilege away from them, whenever he thought their remonstrances not wise: this was destroying, nay absolutely abolishing the privileges they have so loudly claimed under this reign, of being *the representatives of the nation, the several states of the kingdom contracted to a smaller scale.*

Who indeed would dare to contest with the Magistrates their right of complaining? Who would venture to assert, that the integral parts of the social contract, shall not have the right, when aggrieved, to expose their injuries, and demand the redress of them?

The precautions taken to render the Duke of Orleans's party formidable, did not a little contribute to damp the courage of the Parliament. They knew that the Court was surrounded with troops, and the great chamber filled with armed men*. It is true, that many of them were on the side of the Duke du Maine: but the Duke having, by a shameful silence, acquiesced in every thing that was passing contrary to the will of the late King, every man abandoned a Prince, who abandoned himself. And indeed, his Dutchess, transported with fury, received him, at his return to Sceaux, with marks of the highest contempt†. The circumstance that completed his meanness, and seemed to make him worthy of the treatment he received, was, that after having asked to be dismissed from the care of the King's person, he still kept the

B 3

super-

* This fact, which is attested by several memoirs of the times, as well as by oral tradition, is very probable, notwithstanding what M. de Voltaire may say to the contrary. Have we not seen the same thing happen on a less important occasion, in 1771, when M. de Maupeou came to the Court, on the 24th of January, to install the council?

† It is said, that the Dutchess du Maine gave him a slap on the face.

superintendence of his Majesty's education, accepted of a post in the Council of Regency, and, in a word, did not disdain to prefer a subaltern office at Court, to an absolute and total retirement.

Lewis XIV. had also appointed by his will, Marshal Villeroi to be governor to the young King; the Dutchess of Ventadour to be his governess; the Bishop of Fréjus to be his preceptor; and Father le Tellier his confessor. The expulsion of the Jesuit was the only change made in these appointments.

Madame de Ventadour was the only person who could enter immediately on the duties of her office. This Princess, of the illustrious house of Rohan, which has since furnished several other Governesses to the Royal family of France, was qualified in the highest degree for the trust reposed in her. She had a great deal of softness, and at the same time much dignity. She was passionately fond of her Royal pupil, and her care was rather that of an affectionate mother, than of an ambitious stranger. All the transactions that were going forward, could not but increase her vigilance: for she was not ignorant of the dreadful suspicions which had raised distrust in the minds of all men. How great must have been her anxiety, when she saw the care of the King's person intrusted to the presumptive heir of the crown. Her attention was redoubled on this account, and she enjoyed not an instant of tranquillity, during the space of near eighteen months that she remained in the service of his Majesty.

One singular circumstance happened to this governess, which was the occasion of her receiving an honour that no woman had ever enjoyed before her. Lewis XV. coming to the Parliament, to hold his first Bed of Justice in order to confirm the decree of the Court in favour of the Regent, the Dutchess of Ventadour represented, at this meeting, the Queen Mother and Regent. The only difference was, that she took not her seat upon the throne, but that she attended there, sitting at the feet of the King; she spoke, however, in his name. She was then about forty years of age, was still beautiful, and

and assumed a great air of dignity, which made her appear not unworthy of this illustrious act. "Gentlemen, said she, "the King has caused you to be assembled, in order to make his pleasure known to you: "his Chancellor will explain it."

Immediately after this bed of justice, six Councils were established, beside that of the Regency. The first, which was called the Council of Conscience, regarded ecclesiastical matters; the second, foreign affairs; the third, war; the fourth, finance; the fifth, the navy; and the last, presided over the internal affairs of the kingdom.

In order that the Parliament should the more readily consent to the registering of this declaration, another had been joined to it, agreeable to the insinuation above-mentioned, by which the privilege was restored to them, of making representations or remonstrances, before the publication of the laws that were addressed to them; but his Majesty required that these remonstrances should be represented within eight days.

16 Sept.

This form of administration by Councils, taking in all the parts of government, and confining the Secretaries of State merely to the signing of their names*, which form is used in other kingdoms, and of which there had been examples in ours under several reigns, becomes particularly necessary under a young or weak Monarch. If it should sometimes occasion a slowness of proceeding in affairs, the decisions, on the other hand, are more mature; it makes them less versatile, and is particularly beneficial in opposing craft, preventing favour, and guarding against seduction, which is so frequently employed with success against a single man.

The regent adopted this plan of government the more readily, as it tended to remove the ideas of despotism, which might have been imputed to him; as it furnished him with the means of giving places to

B 4

a great

* The offices of Secretaries of State were even suppressed for a time, or at least there was no business done by them.

a great number of his own creatures, and acquiring new ones, of employing at least those who were disposed to cabal against him; in a word, as it enabled him to fulfil the engagements he had entered into with the Marchioness de Maintenon, the house of Noailles, and the most distinguished members of the Parliament, upon condition, that they should assist him in measures to annul the will of Lewis XIV.

It will certainly appear a matter of surprize, that the Queen Dowager, (for no man at present seems to dispute her that title) should be the foremost to concur in the annulling of a solemn act, the plan of which she had at least approved, if not herself suggested, against a Prince whom she had never liked, or rather whom she had always detested, on account of his mode of thinking and his manners, which were so repugnant to the religious views of the favourite. But what will not the policy even of devotees adapt itself to?

This able woman, sensible of the aversion Lewis XIV. had for his nephew, had not dared to contradict him in his last wishes; but at the same time, foreseeing what would happen, she had determined not to wait the event. She doubted not one moment but that the great talents of the Duke of Orleans would prevail over the Duke du Maine, and that the former would become master of the kingdom at the King's death. She therefore judged it necessary to prevent the storm that would infallibly rise against her, and to deserve the gratitude of the Prince, whose generosity she was already acquainted with, by giving him previous information of the articles of the will, that he might be the better prepared to oppose them with advantage and security. Madame de Maintenon was still more determined to behave in this manner, from her affection for the Duke of Noailles her nephew*. At the death of the Princes, in order to pay his court to the King, he had indulged himself in the most indiscreet, or rather the most rash and most culpable language. In the

* That is to say, who had married Mademoiselle d' Aubigné, niece and sole heiress of Madame de Maintenon.

the excess of his zeal, and under the supposition that all the deaths which had happened were the effects of poison, he had been accused of having imputed them to his R. H.; and when people were endeavouring to guess at the author of these execrable crimes, he had named the Duke of Orleans, and had added; "if the last †, who is now at the point of death, should perish, I will be the Brutus." Such was the anecdote then circulated, and since preserved in the memoirs of the times. Nothing less than a very essential service could wipe away the slanderous assertion and the threat, the atrociousness of which seemed however to be diminished by their extravagance. And indeed the Regent's magnanimity, forgetting both the one and the other, was mindful only of the gratitude due to the Duke of Noailles, for having disclosed the will of Lewis XIV. and for the services rendered him by that house, which was then the most powerful in the kingdom, both in itself and by its great alliances.

The circumstance that must chiefly have affected Madame de Maintenon, in her critical situation, was to find, that her conduct, which was only the effect of necessity, made her the involuntary accomplice of the outrages committed against the memory of Lewis XIV. The French, in reality, who are always fond of novelty, availed themselves of the little respect the Government then shewed to the will, the principles, and memory of the deceased King: they gave themselves up to all the licentiousness which slaves, escaped from their chains, allow themselves against their master; his statues were insulted with the bitterest inscriptions, the most acrimonious satires were publicly circulated against him, and in his funeral procession the prayers of the priests were less heard than the coarse songs of a licentious mob. It was the triumph of the nation, rather than the funeral pomp of the Monarch.

The first steps the Regent took, after the power of dispensing favours became vested in him, did honour to his sincerity and moderation. He appointed the

B 5

fore-

† Meaning the late King.

fore-mentioned Duke of Noailles, President of the Council of Finance, whose pardon he sealed by this favour, as he did that of Marshal Villars, by creating him President of the Council of War. The Marshal had negotiated the treaty of Rastadt, with Prince Eugene of Savoy; in which he had agreed to some secret articles, tending to the exclusion of the Duke of Orleans from the crown; and his R. H. was not unacquainted with it*. The Cardinal of Noailles, who was the chief of the Jansenist's party, was connected with the principal members of the Parliament, and had been very useful in promoting the measures of the Regent, was placed at the head of the Council of Conscience. The preferment of this Prelate, gave new vigour to his faction, which was still more delighted to see Father le Tellier removed from Court. Every exile returned; and the deserted Sorbonne saw again seated among her learned masters, those doctors who had before honoured, and rendered her illustrious by their science. In a word,

* The following anecdote we find in an allegorical romance of the times, intitled, "The adventures of Pomponius." "Salliru (Villars), General of the Gauls, a man well acquainted with business, and who handled the pen and the sword with equal dexterity, was commissioned by his Sovereign to enter into a treaty with those people who dwell on the side of the Adriatic sea. His commission was a secret one; and he executed it with greater fidelity than prudence. His Sovereign died some little time after, and the Prince who succeeded, having engaged the several allies of the Crown to communicate to him all the treaties they had made with his predecessors, among the rest, the fore-mentioned treaty was put into his hands. The Prince, upon examining it, was not a little surprized to find that it contained an article to exclude him from the crown, and that the General of the armies had not only stipulated this matter with the people who inhabit the shores bathed by the Adriatic, but had even engaged in the same league, the Iberians, the Allobroges, and several other nations. The Prince sent for the General of the armies, and communicated the treaties to him. Salliru avowed the fact, saying, he had done it only in obedience to the commands of the late King, whose original order for this purpose he produced; without which, his head would have answered for it. By removing himself afterwards from Court, he escaped the vengeance and resentment of the new Prince, to whose favour he was gradually restored through his wife's means."

word, the Jesuits now experienced, in their turn, those disgraces with which they had overwhelmed their rivals: a general, and even an exasperated fury prevailed against them, so that the police was obliged to take them under its protection in the capital. So many favours conferred upon the Jansenists, by him who was now at the helm of the French Administration, were the more valuable, as no man was ignorant of his method of thinking: it was well known that *the God of Baal, or the God of Israel*, were equally objects of ridicule with him. But beside the sentiments of gratitude, which might influence him in the dispensation of these particular favours, he was directed by views of a superior kind; he was endeavouring 1716. to bring about a calm, and to restore public tranquillity, disturbed by the internal dissensions excited by fanaticism, towards the end of the preceding reign. After this first care, he had another, and not less important solicitude; which was to avenge the unhappy nation, whose miseries the contractors exulted over, by a new species of luxury. By way of example, he began, by obliging the Comptroller General Desmarets to give an account of his administration.

According to a regulation made under Lewis XV*. he was not accountable for any thing. Since the suppression of the office of superintendant of the finances, the King had always taken upon himself the duties of it: no payment had been made but by virtue of the estimates and warrants signed by himself. The Comptrollers General were now nothing more than the executors of his orders; but yet it was necessary to prove that these orders had been followed; and a Minister might still be very culpable in the mode of executing them. M. Desmarets composed upon this subject a circumstantial memorial, which is considered as a masterpiece, and which, by discovering the deplorable state of the kingdom, proved, that these disasters could not be attributed to the Minister, and were only the unavoidable consequence of the several misfortunes
that

* On the 5th of Sept. 1661, when Fouquet was confined.

that had ravaged the state towards the close of the last reign. He demonstrated, that if the revenues of the state were absorbed to the year 1717, inclusively, by anticipated assignments, yet the unfunded debts were nearly the same, after seven years of an almost generally unfortunate war, as they were at the beginning of 1708, when his administration began.

This memorial did a great deal of honour to the author, among the Council of Finance, but it did not restore to him the place that had been taken from him, nor did it even procure him a seat in that Council, which he had astonished by his talents and probity. He died in private life, and from him is descended the family of Maillebois. He left three sons, who were men of small stature, and who on that account were named at Court, where every thing is an object of ridicule, "the Terriers."

12th March. The establishment of a Chamber of justice, to prosecute and punish those who had committed abuses in the finances, was an object which must necessarily become more useful, according to the list of the men of business that were taxed*. This list amounted to upwards of 160 millions†; and undoubtedly this sum, well employed, might have furnished a great resource for diminishing the debts of the state; but it was presently known, that a small part only of this money entered the King's coffers‡; that these depredators were ransomed by others; that the favourites, the mistresses, and the judges, made a trade of reducing these taxes. It is reported, that a Contractor, who was taxed at 1,200,000 livres§, replied to a nobleman who offered to get him acquitted for 300,000

* This curious list shall be inserted at the end of the volume, with notes: it shall be placed under No. I.

† Between six and seven millions sterling.

‡ Forty millions [upwards of one million and a half sterling] of this, were deducted perhaps from the principals of the annuities fixed upon the "hotel de Ville," and the taxes, the posts, and other farms and revenues, which made part of the payment of the imposts, which were to be extinguished, redeemed, and taken out of the estimates.

§ Fifty thousand pounds.

300,000 livres*; *Faith, my Lord, you come too late; I have already agreed with your Lady for 150,000 †.* M. de Fourquieux, President of the Chamber of Justice, was decorated with the burlesque title of *Garde des Sceaux ‡* because he had appropriated to himself, from the spoils of the famous Bourvalais, a Farmer of the revenue, buckets of silver to cool wine and other liquors, and that he had the impudence to produce them at his table. The indignation of the people was excited at seeing the Marquis de la Fare, son-in-law to Paparel, Paymaster of the Gendarmerie, who was condemned to death, and whose estates were confiscated to the King, rejoice at the disgrace of his father-in-law, cause his estates to be settled upon himself, dissipate them in prodigality and debauchery, and reduce himself, as well as his son, to poverty, without even having attempted to mitigate the adversities of Paparel, whose punishment had been changed.

A more certain, speedy, and efficacious expedient had before been made use of for the re-establishment of the finances. Three days after the death of Lewis XIV. an edict had appeared, in which, notwithstanding the alarming description of their situation, the King gave assurances that he was determined to satisfy the two most pressing demands of the state, the subsistence of the troops, and the arrears of the annuities charged upon the Hotel de Ville of Paris. With regard to the other debts, it was ordered, that the different papers should be stated and liquidated, in order to convert them into bills of one kind, which were not to be changed till they were taken up. This operation was called the *Visa*, and the papers resulting from it, *Billets d'etats*. (Bills of state.) They were to be signed by Mr. Bouffot, the general Overseer, by the Provost of the Merchants, and by Mr. Charles Haran, appointed for this purpose by the six companies of Merchants at Paris. The real
design

* Twelve thousand five hundred pounds.

† Six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds.

‡ "Keeper of the Seals." In order to understand this, it is necessary to acquaint the English reader, that the same word which in French signifies a seal, signifies also a bucket.

design of changing these papers, was, to reduce them to two hundred and fifty millions *, by making the bearer of them lose one, two, three, or four-fifths of the capital, according to the different classes that were settled. And indeed, it would have been better to have proceeded immediately to this extremity, as the Abbé Terrai has since done, than to employ these methodical reductions, which cost immense sums, to no purpose. However this may be, it is certain that more than three hundred and thirty millions † of debt were liquidated by this process, and the interest of the overplus was fixed at four per cent. A promise was made, as usual, to pay it regularly, and gradually to replace the capital. For this purpose, it was proposed to employ the most suitable methods, and certain funds were already set apart, beside a portion of those which would be saved from the reduction of the most burthensome expences, the considerable retrenchments already begun and continued, in point of personal expence, and the prudent distribution of those revenues.

To these preliminary measures another was added, in order to make money circulate and restore
2d and trade, by increasing the representation of the
20th of specie. There appeared an edict for the es-
May. tablishment of a general Bank throughout the
 kingdom, under the name of Law and Com-
 pany. This Bank would indeed have been of great
 utility to the public, if it had been confined to its first
 institution, which was, to transact the affairs of indivi-
 duals, for the profit of a quarter of a crown ‡ upon one
 thousand

* Near ten millions and a half.

† Upwards of thirteen millions and a half sterling. This was not a very considerable object, in proportion to the sum total of the national debt, which amounted to two thousand and sixty-two millions, one hundred and thirty eight thousand livres, at twenty-eight livres the marc; which makes in present value, three thousand six hundred and seventy-eight millions, six hundred fifty-nine thousand, six hundred and ninety-three livres [between one hundred and fifty-three, and one hundred and fifty-four millions sterling] at forty-nine livres sixteen sous the marc.

‡ Seven pence half penny.

thousand crowns *, to receive their money, and to give them bills in exchange, payable at sight. But this scheme soon became the foundation of that incomprehensible system, the design of which was, or was to have been, to discharge the national debt of France, and to enrich the kingdom, and which had nearly ruined it beyond resource.

While the Regent was thus employed in contriving means to raise the nation from the deplorable state into which the ambition of Lewis XIV. had reduced it, he was not regardless of any thing that might assist his own aspiring views. The indifferent health of Lewis XV. not only kept up his hope of attaining to the crown, but even confirmed him in it. He imagined he could not form any alliance more favourable to his views, than that of England. He therefore paid his court to that power; and his favourite, the Abbé Dubois, was the person whom he judged most proper to manage the negotiation.

This Doubois, who was the son of an Apothecary of Brive la Gaillarde, had an easy, supple, and insinuating turn, was of a lively and gay disposition, eager in his pursuit of pleasures, and a man of very loose morals; had been a favourite of the Duke of Orleans, from that Prince's earliest years; from being his preceptor, he had become his confidant, had given him some very useful advice, at the time of his marriage with a natural daughter of Lewis XIV. to which he had persuaded him, and seemed still less attached to the rank than to the person of his R. H. He repaired to London, to execute his commission, and distributed his money very freely, which is the most persuasive and readiest way of compassing one's design. The 1717. treaty was soon concluded, and was called the 4 Jan. Treaty of the Triple Alliance, for the Dutch came into it, though their interest was not directly concerned; it was even signed at the Hague. It was, indeed, a very advantageous treaty to the Regent, against the Spanish faction, in case the crown became vacant; but

* One hundred and twenty-five pounds.

but it was a scandalous one with regard to France, because it stipulated the expulsion of the Pretender from that kingdom, and the demolition of Dunkirk and Mardyke. Unfortunately, the disgrace of it remained with us, and the person who had planned it for his advantage, was never in a situation to reap the benefit of it.

In the mean while, the infant Monarch was imperceptibly growing up. At the death of his grandfather, his residence had been fixed at the castle of Vincennes, and he had afterwards been moved to the palace of the Tuilleries, as if with a design to place him under the guard of the whole nation, or at least, of the most distinguished part of it. The royal pupil's delicate state of health made it necessary to pay particular attention to his constitution. Without fatiguing him, however, with instructions, his Governess neglected no opportunity of forming his morals by short lessons. Thus, the Prince being one day at supper in public, and seeming to be too much taken up with admiring some new golden girandoles, the Dutchess of Ventadour reprehended him for it, by saying, *Sir, nothing of this kind ought to have any attraction for your Majesty.* Another time, happening to let a Louis d'or fall while he was at play, he stooped to pick it up; but his Governess prevented him, by observing, that the money once slipped out of his hands, ought no more to belong to him.

From that early period, he began also to discover a propensity to say disagreeable truths to those who were about him: a liberty which, among equals in society, would be deemed incivility or rudeness, but from a superior is hardness, and barbarity. The following anecdote might possibly have passed for a simplicity of childhood, if it had not afterwards been found to be a stroke of character.

M. de Coislin, Bishop of Metz, a gentleman rather of a disagreeable person, being presented to the young King, he cried out as soon as he saw him, *O Lord! how ugly he is!* Upon this occasion, the Prelate himself gave the reprimand. He turned about, and walked
away.

away, saying, with a licence no less inexcusable, *What an ill-bred little boy!*

At length, the King having attained full seven years of age, the Dutchess of Ventadour saw with satisfaction, the time coming of delivering up the precious charge she had hitherto had the care of, into the hands of the Duke of Orleans. She dressed the King, in the presence of the whole Court, and having received the thanks of his Royal Highness for the care she had taken of his Majesty's person, she took her leave of the King, and kissed his hand. The young Prince was moved, and embracing her, made her a present of jewels to the value of 50,000 crowns*. Previous to this, the Regent had presented to his Majesty the Marshal Duke of Villeroi, his Governor; the Abbé de Fleuri, formerly Bishop of Fréjus his Preceptor; and the other person employed to superintend his education, and destined for his service.

Another Abbé de Fleuri, who was not a Bishop, but known only by several works of excellence and erudition, and especially by his ecclesiastical history, had been appointed a year before, his Majesty's Confessor. This circumstance was the more remarkable, because, since the death of Henry IV. the post had always been filled by Jesuits, and that the worthy Ecclesiastic here mentioned was very far from being a favourer of that society. It should seem however, by the words of the Regent upon this occasion, that his Royal Highness did not consider him as an enemy to them: *Sir, said he to him, the only reason I have for preferring you to any other person, is, that you are neither a Jansenist, nor a Molinist, nor an Ultramontane* †.

The

* Six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds.

† It was certainly in order to adapt himself to this eulogium of the Duke of Orleans, that the Abbé de Fleuri varied his answers, according to the different opinions of the persons from whom he received compliments. We find the following anecdote upon this subject in the Memoirs of the Regency.

“The Jesuits sent Father Craye, one of their society, to pay their compliments to the new Confessor; he answered, that he imagined he was not disagreeable to the Fathers of their
“society,

The Jansenist party however, already favoured by the Regent, became more presumptuous, and proceeded to some violent steps. The Bishops of Mirepoix, Senez, of Montpellier, and of Boulogne, by one common act amongst themselves, appealed to the Bull *Unigenitus*. They repaired to Sorbonne, where they signified their appeal in a numerous assembly of Divines, who all adhered solemnly to it. The Body of Arts delivered an opinion, by which they declared that this appeal was necessary; and the Doctors of Law and Physic did the same, the year following. Other Prelates had likewise joined the four above mentioned, and a considerable number of Priests, Friars, and Communities, followed their example, and would signalize their zeal.

However, the Bishops *Constituants*, that is to say, the maintainers of this famous Bull *Unigenitus*, called the *Constitution*, made remonstrances, which soon degenerated into warm and frequent complaints. A number of writings appeared, in which nothing less was talked of, than the destruction of religion. The Regent, who was rather disposed to laugh at all these quarrels, was obliged to interfere seriously in them, and, notwithstanding his determined and decisive character, to conduct himself with a great deal of moderation; to hear both parties, to manage between them, and to deceive them both. He wrote to the *Constituants* that famous letter, in which he told them; *I do*
not

“society, “because he was no Jansenist.” Some Jacobin Friars “came afterwards to congratulate him upon the same occasion; “he told them, he flattered himself that he should be agreeable “to them, “because he was no Molinist.” The third person who “came to him was the Abbé d’Orfanne; M. de Fleuri replied to “him, that he hoped he should be in the graces of the Cardinal de “Noailles, “for that he was by no means an Ultramontane.” “Thus he implied in his answers, what his Royal Highness had “said to him, when he chose him to be Confessor to the King.” The Abbé d’Orfanne, here mentioned, was Canon of Notre Dame, and Grand Vicar of the Cardinal de Noailles. He was in his society the chief of the rigorous Jansenists. He is the author of the famous *Memoirs du Port Royal*.

not lose sight of the important affair of the CONSTITUTION —, and in which an interpolation was introduced, which took off all the force of that promise. In fact, the Regent, in saying, *that he would punish any acts of appeal from inferiors in the future Council, that were made without reason*, determined nothing by means of that clause, of which advantage might be taken.

The Cardinal de Bissy, who had planned this letter, was obliged to exculpate himself with his society; and it was known, that the new Chancellor was the person who had suggested to the Prince this artifice, so unbecoming of his dignity, but which, however, was judged necessary, to act up to the part of being a mere conciliator, which was all he intended.

This new Chancellor was M. d'Aguesseau, a native of Amiens, and of a tradesman's family. He had the good fortune to be educated at *Port Royal*, under the famous le Maître. Having attained, while still very young, to the post of Solicitor General, he had distinguished himself in it by the graces of elocation, which constitute the essential part of that office. He afterwards acquired a deeper knowledge of the laws, and of jurisprudence. He then became Attorney General, and gained still more solidity; so that he became necessary to the Duke of Orleans, at the time when that Prince began to think of forming a party to himself in Parliament, during the illness of Lewis XIV. The death of the President de Maisons, who, after M. Voisin, was to have been at the head of the Law, opened the way for him to that post, which his competitor had only had in prospect, and which caused the latter to cry out, penetrated with regret: *Must one die, at the eve of being invested with the highest employments!*

M. d'Aguesseau had always been strongly attached to the party of the Jansenists: he was, after the Cardinal de Noailles, their hope and their idol. He took care not to abandon them upon this occasion; and, by way of a salvo, contrived the little artifice we have just mentioned. He even added another, and a still
more

more mean one, to it, in which he gratified his ambition, at the expence of his integrity: this was, in order to make the first artifice pass the better, to suppress the word delicate, in the circular letters addrested to the Cardinals de Bissy and de Rohan, with whom the minute had been settled.

The restless anxiety of the *Constituants* soon discovered the double fraud. The Regent was obliged to take it upon himself, and to give an explanation, which served only the more to inflame the minds of the parties. In vain were frequent conferences held to reconcile them, at which his Royal Highness assisted, notwithstanding their wearisomeness. New difficulties, and new proposals, arose every day: pamphlets, writings, and epigrams, were multiplied without number; and they were forced to conclude with a declaration, which prohibited the writing or speaking any thing for, or against, the *Constitution Unigenitus*.

It was then only that the party of the
October 7. Jansenists, who had hitherto built much upon the attachment and gratitude of the Duke of Orleans, and who even flattered themselves that this law was in their favour, perceived their interest with that Prince beginning to decline. Yet what had not his R. H. done for them? Besides all we have seen, he had hazarded his credit with the Court of Rome in making his first ecclesiastical appointments conformably to their wishes, by choosing four persons of the Cardinal de Noailles's faction. The *bon mot* which he said on this occasion, as he was coming out of the Council, has been often retailed; *The Jansenists will no longer complain of me; I have given every thing to Grace, and nothing to Merit.* These Elects of Grace were the Abbé de Lorraine, the Abbots Bossuet, de Tourouvre, and d'Entragues, who were created Bishops. A considerable ferment was excited by this circumstance: the great number of Prelates of the sect of the Molinists in France, supported by their chiefs, the Cardinals de Rohan and de Bissy, expostulated against an association of this kind: the Nuncio complained highly; and the Pope, not daring to ex-
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clude the first, on account of his rank, refused his bulls to the second, *propter mores praveos*; to the third, *quia suspectus de heresia Janseniana*; and to the last, *propter supinam ignorantiam*. The Regent perceived too late the fault which his complaisance had induced him to commit; he saw that the offended party was more powerful and more numerous than the other; that it was not so easy to stifle it as he had been assured; and that it might even degenerate into an open faction. He did not think it, however, consistent with his dignity to give way upon this occasion; he supported his nomination, and obliged the Pope to grant his bulls; but he resolved never again to put himself in the way of such difficulties: he grew cool towards these sectaries, whose party he had espoused, merely because he could not do otherwise at the time. When his authority was sufficiently established, he neglected those whom he no longer stood in need of, and supported them only as much as he thought it necessary to maintain the balance.

Though the affairs of the Church were of great importance—not on account of the dissensions themselves, which were frivolous, but from the fanaticism which was blended with them, and the fatal consequences that might ensue to disturb the tranquillity of the state—yet the contest between the Princes of the blood and the legitimated Princes, which was then in agitation, was in its very nature of much more serious consequence. The question was, whether Lewis XIV. had the right to transfer to *Edict of July 1714.* the legitimated Princes, the privilege of succeeding to the Crown after the failure of the Princes of the blood. The jealousy which the predilection of the expiring Monarch for the Duke du Maine and the Count du Toulouse had excited at Court, was the secret spring of this contest. The humiliation of these Princes had undoubtedly been one of the articles which the Regent had promised to the Duke of Bourbon, and to some other Dukes who had ranged themselves on his side. But whatever might have been the cause, it produced confessions of singular

gular benefit to the nation, and which were very contrary to the strange maxim that has since been put into the mouth of Lewis XV. *That he held his crown from God alone.* The Princes of the blood, on

August 22, the contrary, represented in their petition, 1716. that this manner of settling the crown, deprived the nation of one of its best rights, which was, to dispose of itself, in case of failure of the Royal line; at the same time that it kept for ever from the throne those illustrious families, whom the nation might pitch upon to fill it.

On the other hand, the memorial of the legitimated Princes, at the same time that it defended this despotic act of Lewis XIV. contained assertions nearly of the same nature.

"The legitimated Princes," it was said, "are by their nature of the Royal blood; and therefore included in the *contract made between the nation and the reigning family.* Now, the view of the people in granting the crown to a certain family, is to preserve their tranquillity, and to avoid the inconveniences of elections. Therefore, every thing which protracts the extinction of the reigning family, is deemed conformable to the wishes of the nation, and consonant with its interests. And this is what Lewis XIV. has done, in calling up the legitimated Princes to the throne. How can it then be asserted that he hath exceeded the limits of his power? It cannot be said that the late King, by this favour he has done us, has disposed of his crown as of a patrimonial estate. This accusation could not be supported, according to the terms of the edict: *If it should happen that there should not remain one single legitimate Prince of the blood, and of the house of Bourbon, we believe that in that case the honour of succeeding to the crown would belong to our legitimated children aforesaid.* This is not surely giving the crown, it is only saying, that he believes his legitimated children ought to be placed in the last rank of his successors, and ought to be included in the *primitive contract of the nation.*"

Further,

Further, in the same memorial, these Princes maintained, respecting the form of the edict, that this affair could not be decided except by the King in his majority, or *at the request of the three states of the kingdom*. And that all the tribunals, except that of the King in his majority, or of the states, were not competent to judge of it.

In some reflections on this defence of the legitimated Princes, the Princes of the blood replied; "The opinion which the Duke du Maine seems to maintain according to his memorials, *that the King has a right to do whatever he pleases* *, should make us apprehend lest his interest should one day engage him to inspire the King with the same sentiments. How dreadful would be the consequences to a young Prince!"

At length the Monarch, in his edict, which revokes that of his great grandfather, holds the following language: "but if the French Nation should experience this misfortune (the extinction of the reigning house) it would belong to the nation itself to repair it, by the wisdom of its choice; and, since the fundamental laws of our kingdom have happily restrained us from alienating the domains of our crown, we glory in acknowledging that we are still less at liberty to dispose of the crown itself."

The most contradictory plan of conduct that was pursued in this discussion, was that which the Parliament adopted; for when they would not allow the different orders of the kingdom to be called together, because they represented them, they should have laid claim to their rights. After having registered the edict of Lewis XIV. without the least difficulty, they did the same

* It is thus that the Princes of the blood expressed themselves during the minority of Lewis XV. and in 1776, at the Bed of Justice holden on the 12th of March, we have heard the Solicitor General Seguier, when he was opposing perhaps the most paternal and most equitable edict of Lewis XVI. that concerning vassalage, say to that Prince, in the name of the Parliament, "Sir, regal power knows no other bounds but those which it pleases to fix to itself."

same with regard to that which revoked it; and they pushed their inconsistency so far, as to suppress a protest signed by thirty-nine persons of the first nobility, against any judgment that might be passed; inasmuch as the affair concerned the whole nation, and could not be adjudged but by the assembly of the states; that is to say, the Magistrates would not allow, that those, of whom they acknowledged themselves to be only the representatives, for whose benefit they stipulated, and who were most interested in the contest—since nothing less was at stake than the disposal of their estates, their liberties, and their persons—should interfere in the business, and do what they refused to do for them. This Court had even the meanness to suffer, that five of the most distinguished persons among the Protesters should be arrested under their own eyes*. It suffered them to be dragged into prison, by virtue of the King's orders, the legality of which it had so often contested, and took not the least step to oppose this encroachment upon the liberty of these generous defenders of the nation†.

While this great cause was preparing for trial, there arose another contest, which, though it was not upon a matter of so much importance to the public, yet the parties concerned in it looked upon it as very essential to themselves; they carried it on with a great degree of warmth, and it required at last a decision of the Council of Regency. A few days only had elapsed, since his Majesty had been transferred into the hands of his male attendants, when the fair of St. Germain being opened, the King wished to go to it. Nothing was more easy than to procure him this diversion. But when they were about to get into the coach, the Duke du Maine and the Marshal de Villeroi could not agree about their place in the King's carriage. The Governor

* Messieurs de Chatillon, de Vieuxpiat, and de Beausfremont, were put into the Bastille: Messieurs de Polignac and de Clermont at Vincennes. These illustrious names deserve to be preserved.

† It was the Duke of Chartres who demanded and obtained their liberty, a month after.

nor contended, that he ought not to give up the first place to any but the first Prince of the blood. It being impossible to settle this difference immediately, the King was deprived of his amusement, and obliged to stay at the castle.

The arrival of the Czar at Paris soon diverted the minds of people from this serious trifle: he drew upon himself for a time the eyes of the Courtiers, and engaged the curiosity of the public. This Czar was Peter I. the reformer and legislator of Russia, but who, previous to the fulfilling of this great object, was desirous of being acquainted with the different states of Europe, of studying each government, together with their laws, their sciences, and their arts. He was treated as a Monarch, and with a magnificence worthy of the King. He received at first the visit of the Regent, afterwards that of his Majesty, to whom he foretold that he would one day surpass his great grandfather in wisdom, glory, and power: a prediction which shews, that among all his great qualities the gift of prophecy could not be reckoned.

He passed six weeks in looking over all he found worthy of admiration in this capital, and chiefly in observing every thing from which he could reap any instruction. He constantly frequented all those persons who were famous in the arts, and even in the handicrafts. In a word, he did all that we have seen lately done by a great Prince *, who, though already replete with knowledge, thinks he cannot acquire too much for the happiness of his people. One anecdote of the Czar's stay in this capital, which pleased him the most, and which he most delighted to relate, was the circumstance that happened to him at the mint where the medals are struck. By an ingenious piece of politeness, which his prognostic of the King well deserved, the medal that was struck in his presence represented himself. He perceived it, and was still more surprized in reading the inscription round it: *Petrus Alexiowitz*

VOL. I.

C

Czar

* The present Emperor Joseph, who came to Paris in 1777.

Czar Mag. Ruf. Imp. and on the reverse, a figure of Fame, with these words: *Vires acquirit eundo.*

Another event happened, which at any other time would have seemed of great importance, but which now only served as a new topic of conversation, after the departure of the Russian Emperor. This was a commotion existing in the most distant parts of the French empire, but which was smothered and absorbed, in some measure, by that commotion which reigned within, and which, though it appeared under divers shapes, tender to the same end, the overthrow of the power of the Regent. Information was received, that M. de la Varenne, Governor General of Martinico, and M. de Ricouard, Intendant of that colony, were arrived at la Rochelle on board a merchant-ship, in which the inhabitants of that island had sent them back to France, after having risen upon them, because they wanted to impose upon the island a new duty of thirty sous † per quintal of sugar. The most singular circumstance attending this revolt, was, that before the military man was embarked, the insurgents having required his sword of him, he surrendered it; but the Commissary refused constantly to give up his. This gave occasion to say, *that the Intendant deserved to be the Governor, and the Governor nothing more than the Intendant.* Commodore Champmessin was sent with two men of war and a frigate to reduce these islanders to obedience, and he pacified every thing. A circumstance which proves that the Government did not think much of this insurrection is, that Mess. de Feuquieres and de Sylvecane, being substituted in lieu of the Governor and Intendant who had been expelled, were much blamed for having required the inhabitants, without orders from Court, to take a fresh oath of allegiance, and for having separated the nobility from the clergy, and from the commonalty; a distinction which the King does not admit in the colonies.

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† One shilling and five-pence.

The behaviour of M. de Riconart did him however great honour, and gained him, without doubt, the approbation of the Court, for he was afterwards appointed to the Intendance of the navy at Rochfort; a post, in which his firmness and integrity supplied the want of those acquisitions and great talents which he wanted for administration.

History is nothing more than a continual revolution of similar facts, which from time to time come round again. A great clamour was raised at the end of the last reign, when, during the change in the magistrature, and the iron ministry of the Abbé Terrai, the Duke de Vrilliere, fearing the too great firmness of the States of Brittany, threatened to dissolve them,* if they shewed any disposition to oppose the will of the Sovereign; and yet we find, under the regency, when these same estates were assembled on the demand of the voluntary gift, and that instead of granting it with shouts, as usual, when they are satisfied, or subject to authority, they answered the King's Commissaries, that they could not pay any attention to the demand, till after they had looked at and examined their funds; a precaution which every wise manager of his fortune ought to take; yet this answer was considered by the Court as a refusal, a want of zeal and of respect, and they were therefore dissolved. We see afterwards, that notwithstanding this punishment, which they had not merited, upon their representing that such a dissolution was an infraction of the treaty made by the province, when it gave itself up to the King, the Regent—far from being guided by the same spirit of despotism, in imputing to them as a greater crime, their appeal to that treaty upon which the step was taken, which had been judged criminal—suffered himself to be moved, and permitted them to assemble the year following. They were undoubtedly given to understand, that this concession, which was rather an effect of compassion

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* "His Majesty will have no opposition; if the States deliberate on the Parliament, they shall be dissolved in three days." This is the sentence we find in the "Propos Indiscrets."

than of justice, was less granted to their right than to their contrition.

Under these circumstances, the Duke of Orleans was seized with a disorder in his eyes, which threatened him with loss of sight. This incident served only to increase the cabals of the Court. He knew that it had been agitated, in case of his becoming totally blind, to deprive him of the Regency, and to confer it on the Duke of Bourbon; and that those persons who were under the greatest obligations to him, such as the Chancellor, the Cardinal of Noailles, and his nephew, were the supporters of the project. He thought it necessary to overturn the whole scheme at once, by discharging them. He sent to demand the seals from the Chancellor, and banished him to Frene. He had the less difficulty to persuade himself to this step, as the Chancellor was a man by no means suitable to his designs, and was besides too much attached to the Parliament, who began to avail themselves against their master, of the authority he had restored to them. He was also the life of the Jansenist party, which the Regent laughed at, having no further need of it. In a word, the Chancellor was thought to entertain an austerity of principles, and a rigidity of morals, incompatible with the character of the Regent.

Some ocular witnesses assert*, that while these several orders were carrying into execution, his R. H. was conversing with the Duke of Noailles and Messrs. Portail and Fourqueux. He was complaining to them of the Chancellor; of his want of complaisance, and his spirit of contradiction: he even declared to them, he was desirous of getting rid of him, and asked their advice for the filling up of his post. The Duke defended him with sincerity, as well as he could; the two others, like artful courtiers, took his part very slightly, for fear of displeasing, and perhaps with a secret application to themselves, each of them not doubting

* See the "life of Philip of Orleans, grandson of France, and Regent of the kingdom during the minority of Lewis XV. by M. L. M. D. M."

doubting but that the choice, in case of a change, would fall upon him. The conversation was still continuing, when the door-keeper, previously instructed, announced M. d'Argenson, and at the same time opened the two folding-doors of the closet. The Duke of Orleans appointed him Keeper of the Seals, as he entered, and sealed his commission himself. The Duke of Noailles confounded, and judging himself disgraced, at the same instant, said to the Prince, "I have nothing more to do than to withdraw also:" and upon his dismissal, M. d'Argenson was likewise appointed chief of the Council of Finance. The two members of Parliament retired hastily, in order not to be obliged to pay the first compliments to the rival whom they had wished to ruin. With respect to the Cardinal of Noailles, he remained some time longer at the head of the Council of Conscience, but without authority. His R. H. took the first favourable opportunity of removing him; and the Cardinal had the mortification of seeing his places filled up by the two heads of the Molinist party, the Cardinals de Rohan and de Bissy.

These frequent turns of fortune, so hard for those who are the victims of them, on the other hand alternately excite, according to persons or circumstances, the indignation, pity, or laughter of the philosopher who contemplates them. What event, for instance, could more properly give rise to these reflections, than this promotion of M. d'Argenson? Though of an ancient and illustrious family, we see him first obliged, by the smallness of his income, to be a petty Judge of a province; afterwards, sinking all his fortune to purchase the office of Master of Requests; then passing on to the post of Lieutenant of the Police, an employment of little consideration*; and from thence raised at once

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* The duties of Lieutenant of the Police, in Paris, were formerly joined to those of "Lieutenant civil." They were separated in favour of M. de la Reynie, to whom succeeded M. d'Argenson in 1697. It is to this M. de la Reynie, who was coming to pay his devoirs to the First President du Harlay, that the latter, just opening his door, said no more than these words, "Safety, cleanliness, light." A circumstance which proves how inferior the post was at that time, and how much despised.

to the highest dignity of the law, and becoming, in the hierarchy of Administration, the first person in the state after the King! One would not imagine, that a magistracy of so inferior a nature, essentially surrounded with the vilest rabble, having the most immediate and continual connections with the lowest class of people, absorbed in a multitude of petty, trifling, and distinguishing details, calculated rather to contract and extinguish genius, than to unfold or give birth to it; one would not imagine, I say, that such a magistracy could possibly be the school in which a great Minister was formed; and that this striking discovery should soon have been the cause of choosing persons indiscriminately from the same situation, to place them at the head of the magistracy, the finances, or the navy.

The means by which M. d'Argenson acquired his honours, and obtained the confidence of the Regent, were not less surprising, both in their nature and in their contrariety. On the one hand, it was the infamous zeal with which the Lieutenant of the Police had served this Prince in his debaucheries, either in procuring him the properest objects to contribute to his pleasures, or in taking care that those pleasures were not disturbed, and that his august person should always be secure, in places the most suspicious and the most dangerous; or in spreading an officious veil over his orgies and his libertinism, that nothing of this kind might reach the ears of Lewis XIV. On the other hand, it was the hypocritical dexterity with which he had seconded the rage of the Jesuits against their adversaries, by encouraging that dreadful inquisition which took place towards the end of the reign of Lewis XIV*. by setting up a scrupulous attention to the reformation of manners, an indefatigable vigilance

* This inquisition was such, that no one dared eat meat upon fish-days; and, in order to deceive the spies of the Police, who were continually roaming about, as it were, to smell the kitchens, with intention to mark the scandalizing persons, those who transgressed the precepts, caused herrings to be broiled under the door, the strong smell of which seizing the nostrils of these emissaries, rendered them the dupes of this artifice.

in discovering crimes, and an inflexible severity in punishing them; and by being guilty of numberless cruelties against the Janfenist, with which they reproached him.

This, in a word, was the same man against whom his numerous enemies had nearly prevailed at the death of Lewis XIV; who was accused of malversation and peculation; whom the Chamber of Justice was going to prosecute*; and whom their Attorney General had proclaimed and classed among the most contemptible contractors.

The veracity of history obliges us however to acknowledge, that M. d'Argenson, though one of those daring men, without morals, restraint, or religion, who know neither crimes nor virtues but as they are deemed so by their superiors, men who have since been energetically designed under the name of *roués de la Cour* †, was notwithstanding possessed of very eminent and very rare qualities for administration. Undoubtedly, if the Regent had not discovered them, he would still have left him in his post, where he might always have been serviceable to him in his amours, or in his plans of resentment, and would not have called him up near his person. His merit had been conspicuous in the preceding reign; and Madame de Maintenon had availed herself of this pretext, to determine Lewis XIV. to keep him to his post of Lieutenant of the Police, by extending his functions to important commissions, which required a greater share of confidence than usual. Never had man perhaps been possessed of a genius more comprehensive and more diffuse: to penetration he joined solidity, and to activity a facility of labour. Beside this, his judgment was exquisite, and his wit lively; he knew every thing he would give himself the trouble to learn. The Regent had the greatest reason to be satisfied with having employed

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* M. de Fourquetux, the same who was at the Regent's house, as mentioned above. M. Portail, President à Mortier, had also been one of the Presidents of the Chamber of Justice.

† The gallows people of the Court.

ployed such a Minister; he got more ground in a few hours conference with him, than he had hitherto done with all the rest. As he was particularly to take charge of the finances, M. d'Argenson consecrated whole days, and a great part of the night, to the care of this department. He gave audience as early as three o'clock in the morning; but the more he studied his department, the more was he sensible of the impossibility of diminishing the taxes and paying the debts. Consequently, the four sous* per livre †, that had been taken off at the beginning of the Regency, were renewed; all posts and offices, created since 1689, were reduced to four per cent. as much with regard to the original taxes, as to the succeeding impositions. At length, to raise the income of the salt, one of the most certain revenues of the kingdom, a number of privileges granted on this object were retrenched, and the others were reduced. The French, who were not yet accustomed to these vexations of the Ministry, soon cursed the government they had at first admired and blessed. But this was only the prelude to greater evils which they were to experience.

The first operation of the Chief of the Council of Finance, had been a treaty with
 1718. some merchants of St. Malo, obliging them
 11 Feb. to furnish the King with two millions of silver in bars, for which they were to be paid in coin at 33 livres the marc. This silver was destined to strike some new coin, with which the old coin was to be taken up; and the rate to which the first coin was raised, was so calculated, that by receiving four-fifths in silver of the new coin, and one-fifth in paper, the King returned only what he had received in specific value ‡: So that this revolution would have been very useful,

* Two-pence.

† Ten pence.

‡ He returned less even according to the remonstrances of the Parliament of the 27th June. The following is the paragraph.

“ An individual brings to the Mint one hundred and twenty-five marcs of silver, which make 5000 livres, at the rate of

useful, in annihilating in a short time all the *bills* of the state, if the King had not naturally been obliged to take back the new coin at the value he had put upon it. This inconvenience was foreseen, and it was the plan of government to remedy it, by taking up imperceptibly all the specie, and substituting paper to it. In order to compass this, divers means were employed, which were, to keep the coin in continual agitation and uncertainty, so as even to bring money into discredit, and to inspire the greatest confidence in bank bills, and in the funds of the Western Company, by a remarkable preference and an astonishing circulation of their effects: for these two recent establishments, though to appearance separate, yet formed for the same object and directed by the same hand, were equally *May 1716, and August 1717.* to contribute to the views, advancement, and support of the system of which they were the basis, and which soon began to unfold itself, as we shall presently see.

The parliament, who had no suspicions, began to open their eyes, when they perceived, that the operations of the Ministry were kept concealed from them, and that a register merely, was entered in the Court of the Mint, of that important edict, *1 May.* which ordained a general melting down and a considerable augmentation of the specie. Elated with the right of remonstrating, that had been restored to them, and with the kind of victory they had obtained over the Council of Regency, whose decree, which was unfavourable to the honorary rights of that court*, the Duke of Orleans had torn; they persuaded themselves, that their remonstrance would be effectual, and proceeded accordingly. The public would certainly

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" 40 livres the marc, and 2000 livres in bills of state; he receives 7000 livres in new specie, which weigh no more than 116 marcs of silver: of course, he loses nine marcs upon the hundred and twenty-five he has brought, and the whole of his bills of state."

* We shall see hereafter what this decree was, which passed in favour of the Dukes.

tainly have given them credit for their zeal, if the ill-temper of the Company, on account of M. d'Aguesseau's exile, had not greatly contributed to excite it; for almost all the steps taken by Parliament, even the most patriotic to appearance, are ever directed by some private spring, which sooner or later manifests itself. However this may be, they began by renewing those celebrated decrees of union, which are employed in times of commotion. They invited the Chamber of Accounts, the Court of Excise, and of the Mint, to send deputies to concur in the most effectual measures for the public good; and while they were waiting the effect of these invitations, they ordered, that the body of Bankers and Merchants should incessantly be heard. The Regent, enraged at the opposition that was preparing, had recourse to the expedient so often resorted to since; he sent letters *de cachet* forbidding the courts to hold any deliberation upon the requisitions made, or to be made, by the Parliament.

The Parliament, however, was not discouraged; and having made some fruitless representations, set down some remonstrances in writing, and issued a provisional decree, which suspended the execution of the edict, till it should be the King's pleasure to judge of it. This decree was annulled by another of the Council of State, to which the Parliament paid no attention: they even refused to read it, as well as a letter *de cachet* which the King's Council had left at the office, and gave still stronger orders that their own decree should be executed. It became necessary to surround the Court of the Mint with guards, and force prevented the law from taking place. The Regent did not the less hear their reiterated complaints. He was also obliged to listen to those of the other courts; and it is upon one of these occasions that a remarkable anecdote is reported, which proves how much presence of mind in a man in office is sometimes necessary to check the insults of authority. One day, the Duke of Orleans, tired with so many obstacles, gave the Magistrate who had been speaking

speaking to him, a brutal answer, and in a tone of vulgarity, which he sometimes gave way to in the height of his passion *. The representative of his Company without being disconcerted, replied: *Does your Highness command that this answer should be registered?* The Prince, whom this gravity brought to himself, changed his language, and expressed himself with the dignity that became him.

The ferment continued increasing, and the Parliament adopted other measures, which were so much the more remarkable, as they had not for a long time taken any of the kind. They held extraordinary meetings; they ordered, that the Provost of the Merchants, and the Sheriffs, should attend, to inquire in what state was the payment of the annuities, and if the four sous † per livre ‡ were continued to be applied with strictness to this purpose. They went still further: they took into their consideration the Bank, of which Law was the manager; and deliberated whether it were proper that the King's treasure should be administered by a foreigner. Upon this, they published a decree, which, confining 22 August. the Bank within the limits of its first establishment, forbade the manager of it to intermeddle in any manner in the administration of the King's treasure; and issued the same prohibition to all foreigners, even

* Go and be d-----. This is the purport of what we find in "the petition of the Nobility," found among the papers of the Prince of Cellamare.

"The Parliament, the only Company in the kingdom that has the liberty of speaking; this Company, which has been acknowledged to have the power of bestowing the Regency, to which public promises have been given, that the intention was only to have the dispensation of favours, and that all determinations on affairs should be taken by majority of votes; this Company I say, is not only refused to be heard, but "Decency forbids us to repeat to your Majesty the terms, equally shameful and injurious, in which an answer has been given to a private conference with the King's Council." The registers of the Parliament will bear witness of this to the remotest posterity."

† About two pence.

‡ Ten pence.

even such as were naturalized ; they also rendered all the accountable officers, who had converted any part of this treasure into Bank bills, respectively guarantees and responsible for the same. They caused an order to be delivered to the Attorney General, that he should guard against any opposition that might be made to the said decree. They would not allow that any assignment or payment made to the Court, whether at the Secretary's or any other office, should be received otherwise than in the old specie. And lastly, they issued a summons for the personal appearance of this same Law, who had gained the greatest ascendant over the mind of the Regent.

Such a conduct would necessarily bring on a Bed of Justice, which was accordingly holden at
 26 Aug. the Palace of the Tuilleries. The Parliament, in their red robes, came there on foot, to the number of 165 members, having the President de Novion at their head. The first step taken there, was to have M. d'Argenson acknowledged Keeper of the Seals and Vice-Chancellor. M. d'Argenson then made a very violent speech against the members present, in which he reproached them with carrying their designs so far as to pretend, that the King could do nothing without the consent of his Parliament, and that the Parliament might issue what orders they pleased, without waiting for the commands or consent of his Majesty. This speech was followed by an edict, bearing an injunction to that Court, to confine themselves to the administration of justice towards the King's subjects, and not upon any pretence to interfere in affairs of state or finance, with a prohibition to make any remonstrances on these points.

This violent blow given to the authority of the Parliament, was followed by another, which completed their humiliation. It had transpired, that, at their meeting the next day, where, according to the constant and ever useless custom, they had entered protests against every thing which had passed, some of their members had spoken their sentiments with a great deal of warmth, and had even indulged themselves

selves in some odious reflections respecting the preservation of the King's person, upon occasion of the Duke du Maine's disgrace, of which we shall speak presently. That very night, the President de Blamont, and Messrs. Feydeau, de Galande, and de Saint-Martin, Counsellors, were carried off into exile. In vain did their Company, which had lately suffered five members of the higher nobility to be carried off without murmuring, ask for the restoration of their own: the answer was, that these were affairs of state, which required silence and secrecy. In vain did the Parliament suspend their functions, and send deputies to the families of their exiled members to compliment them; no notice was taken of the compliments, but an order was sent to them to continue their functions; and they were obliged to submit, that they might obtain the recalling of their members, who did not however return till three months after.

In all this conduct of the Parliament, which so far would have been admirable, and would have produced the happiest effects, by the overthrow of the Bank, and of its fatal consequences, there was but one circumstance wanting: they should have remembered, that in occasions of this importance they can do nothing by themselves; that their only resource is to remain in an entirely passive state, and confine themselves to demand that the several orders of which they are the representatives, should be assembled, merely to expostulate against any encroachments on their rights. But the pride of Parliament always prevents them from making such a confession, and their want of power obliges them, sooner or later, to yield to compulsive authority. Such was the event upon this occasion. The Duke of Orleans having discovered by this experiment, the submissive and respectful dispositions of the nation, was no longer under any kind of restraint: he attempted and performed more than any King had ever done. During the holding of this same Bed of Justice, the Parliament had received another mortification, in some sort more sensibly felt than this, inasmuch as it overthrew their etiquette, of which they are so jealous,

lous, or rather it annihilated a pretension they had set up against the Dukes and Peers.

The Dukes and Peers not being in a situation to appear at the Court of Parliament during the long reign of Lewis XIV. as soon as the King was dead, the Parliament determined the ceremonial that was to take place at their meeting concerning the Regency, and decreed, that the suffrages of the Dukes and Peers should not be allowed, unless they gave them standing and uncovered. The Dukes and Peers had obtained the year following, from the Council of Regency, a decision in their favour; namely that when affairs of the public right were in agitation, the Parliament should be obliged to summon the Peers, and to make mention of their presence in their decrees, in the following words: *the Court being sufficiently furnished with Peers*; that when they deliberated upon affairs relative to the Peers, nothing should be decided without convoking them; that the decree above-mentioned, should be considered as null; and that the Peers, in delivering their suffrages, should have the same right as the Presidents. But the Duke of Orleans, who at that time wished to be upon good terms with the Parliament, caused the decree of the Council of Regency to be withdrawn. Upon this occasion, on the contrary, he had a declaration registered, which restored to the Dukes and Peers, the rank and the prerogatives of which they had been deprived; that is to say, they were restored to the right of precedency over the Presidents *à Mortier*, and were to give their opinions before them, in the same posture, and situation.

The Duke du Maine, who during this quarrel was suspected of being secretly leagued with the Parliament, both for his own restoration, and the mutual gratification of their ambition, got nothing by it but shame. Another declaration was published, which restrained the legitimated Princes to the rank of their Peerage, except the Count of Toulouse, to whom, in consideration of his services, and of his eminent qualities, the same rank he had hitherto enjoyed, was preserved: and, as if this degradation were not a suf-

ficient

ficient punishment, the Duke du Maine was also deprived of the superintendence of the King's education ; which was transferred to the Duke of Bourbon, upon his representation.

The dispute of the Peers with the Parliament arose from much greater pretensions which they made. They were endeavouring in some measure to concentrate within themselves all the order of Nobility ; at least, at the beginning of the reign, they had wished to place themselves at the head of that body, and to present themselves to the new King as much superior to it in rank. They caused some writings to be published, in which we read with indignation, that it belongs to the Peers to decide upon the differences respecting the succession to the Crown, and the Regencies ; that it is their province to regulate the important affairs of the State ; that they are the natural judges, and chiefs of the Nobility, to whom they are very much superior ; that they form a distinct and separate body from them ; and that the right of representing the antient Peers, at the King's coronation, is a prerogative only due, after the Princes of the blood, to the Peers of France.

The Nobility, justly shocked at these assertions, equally injurious and destitute of foundation, were preparing to expostulate. Already had some of their most antient, and most distinguished members *, presented a very strong petition, wherein they complained, that the Peers affected in some sort to assimilate themselves to the Princes of the blood ; and intreated the King to order that they should henceforward be restrained to the enjoyment of those rights, which the edict of 1711 acknowledges to belong to them. But this league was dissolved by a decree of council, wherein it was declared, that without any intention to violate the rights, privileges, and prerogatives of the Nobility, which should be preserved to them, as being that body in
which

* The Count de Chatillon, Knight of the Order of the Holy Ghost ; the Marquis of Liffenai, Knight of the Golden Fleece ; the Marquis of Conflans ; the Counts of Laval, Maillé, Haute-
fort, Montmorency, &c.

which the principal force of the state consisted, yet an association contrary to public order could not be suffered; that the Nobility ought neither to form themselves into a body, nor to sign petitions in common, without the express permission of the King, whose affection for them was a stronger claim than all their remonstrances. These strange maxims, which have been since considered by the supporters of Royal authority, as incontestible, might then have suffered much contradiction; but the compliments with which they were accompanied, made them pass, and the Nobility seemed, by their silence and tranquillity, to approve them.

The Parliament had carried matters still further: they had published a memorial *, in which, after having stated their pretensions, they examined into the origin of most of the Dukes and Peers, and made it appear, that their families were modern, and that they had grafted themselves upon the antient families, whose names they had assumed. The persons most roughly handled in this memorial, were the Dukes of Luynes, of Noailles, of Gesvres, and of Villeroi. The first of these, according to this publication, is descended from a haberdasher of Provence; the second, from a steward of the real house of Noailles, which gave birth to *le Capitaine de Budes*, the famous rival of *Bertrand du Guesclin*. The two others, among their ancestors, not very remote, reckon two notaries. This last circumstance was in fact already known by an anecdote of the Court of Parliament. At the reception of Marshal Luxembourg in Parliament, there was a dispute upon the subject of precedency between him and the Dukes of Gesvres and Villeroi. The Lawyer, who pleaded his cause, said merely, *'Tis very surprising, Gentlemen, that the descendants of two notaries, who have formerly signed the contract of marriage of Marshal Luxembourg's great grandfather, should at this day dispute*

* We shall insert hereafter, among the pieces serving to illustrate this history, " the Memorials of the Parliament against the " Dukes:" it is a very scarce piece; never before printed, and which the Dukes would be glad to destroy. It will be found under N^o. II.

pute with him the point of precedency! He justified the assertion by producing the contract, signed *Neurville* and *Potier*.

Under so tempestuous a Regency, when all parties were almost equally discontented, and inclined to unite against the Duke of Orleans, it would have been surprising if some conspiracy had not been formed to change the Administration, and supplant the Chief. But the singular circumstance is, that the plot came from a Monarch, who was himself scarce seated on a foreign throne, of which his competitor considered him as the usurper, and who was so far from attending to the means of fixing himself in it, that he was endeavouring to pave the way for his accession to another, which he had renounced. Such was the situation of the King of Spain, when the conspiracy of the Prince of Cellamare, his Ambassador at the Court of France, was discovered, and by a fortunate casualty, prevented.

His R. H. had indeed received the first informations of this from London; but these were so vague, that they only served to raise his alarms; nor was it possible for M. d'Argenson, his faithful confidant, notwithstanding all his penetration, to detect a plot carried on with so much secrecy. Every thing was ready for the execution of the project, which waited only for the last orders from the Court of Madrid.

These, the Abbé Porto-Carrero, agent of the Prince of Cellamare, was going in quest of: he was riding post in a chaise, which was overturned near Poitiers in passing a ford: the fear he betrayed, when he was in danger of losing his trunk, was so great, that he exposed his life in attempting to recover it: upon which a suspicion arose of its containing papers of importance. His person was immediately secured, and his trunk dispatched to the Regent. It contained all the papers relative to the enterprize. The Prince shuddered at the sight of the danger to which he had been exposed. The Ambassador of his Catholic Majesty, the Duke and Dutchess Du Maine, the Prince of Dombes, and the Count d'Eu, with their children and principal attendants, were taken up. Several other conspirators fled.

fled. There were found in the list, Bishops, Magistrates, Lords, and persons of every station : who have never all been known ; because the Abbé Dubois, in a Council of Regency, having begun to read the names of the conspirators, his R. H. stopped him. He contented himself with saying, that one would have been very much surprised to see in this list, the names of those persons whom he had loaded with favours. He carried his magnanimity so far as to add, that he would spare them the humiliation of suing for pardon, being persuaded that by this conduct, he should bring them back to their obedience. The Regent gave moreover such precise orders, and took such proper measures, that every thing remained quiet, and that the conspiracy was only known, by what he thought proper to publish for his own justification. All the orders of the state hastened to congratulate him, upon this happy discovery. The Cardinal of Noailles was not the last ; Sir, said he, *I come to offer to your R. H. two swords, my family, and my clergy.* Upon this, some facetious person observed, that one was as good as the other. With regard to the troops, the officers were heard publicly to declare : *As long as the Duke of Orleans shall speak in the King's name, we will obey him ; if he should speak only in his own, we should see what we had to do.*

It seems, that the principal object was to seize upon the person of the young King, and that of the Duke of Orleans, under a pretence, that his Majesty's life was not in safety, while he was at the disposal of a Prince, interested in shortening his days, and capable of doing it ; after this, the several states of the kingdom were to be convoked in his Majesty's name, in order that they might repeal all that had been done since the death of Lewis XIV. especially the annulling of his will, and the treaties of the triple and quadruple alliances*, which were too repugnant to the interests of

* Yet Holland did not accede to this treaty between France, the Emperor, and England, 'till the 16th of February 1719.

of Spain *. But there was another article still more mysterious, which would not have been disclosed till after the event: this was, in case of the death of Lewis XV. or of the extinction of his line, that the house of Orleans should be excluded from the succession to the Crown, which should devolve to one of the children of his Catholic Majesty; and, to render, in some sort, the whole nation an accomplice of this great revolution, their complaints were to be attended to, and a promise was made to re-establish the coin upon its antient footing; to destroy the Bank, or to circumscribe it within its first limits; and, in a word, to redress every grievance.

The confinement of a foreigner, invested with a character so sacred as that of an Ambassador, was too great an encroachment upon political order, not to require from the Court of France an explanation with all other powers. The Regent, in order to wipe off every idea of misconduct, published two letters of the Prince of Cellamare: he also printed two plans of letters from the King of Spain to 10 Dec. the King; a manifesto to be addressed to the States of the kingdom, capable of exciting an insurrection among them; a petition, supposed to be presented by them to his Catholic Majesty; and some other papers of equal importance. Besides, though the Regent affected much contempt for these writings, conceived in darkness, and bearing no stamp of authenticity, yet he disdained not to answer them, in an apology he wrote of his conduct, under the title of Letters of Filtz-Moritz, in which his rights were explained. These letters were soon followed by a manifesto, and a declaration of war. This 1719. declaration seemed unavoidable; for near- 2 January. ly at the same time that the Prince of Cellamare was taken into custody in France, the Court

* By this treaty, however, the Emperor consented to renounce, as well for himself as his successors, all his titles and rights over Spain; but, on the other hand, other renunciations were stipulated on the part of Spain, which were not suitable to that kingdom.

Court of Spain, without knowing this circumstance and from a different motive, had signified to the Duke of Saint Aignan, Ambassador from his most Christian Majesty, to quit Madrid in four-and-twenty hours. A prognostic which this Minister made, concerning a will just settled by his Catholic Majesty in his illness, was reported to be the cause of his disgrace. He said in jest, that this will might possibly be no better executed than that of Lewis XIV. inasmuch as it left the Regency to the Queen, and to Cardinal Alberoni.

We shall not enter into a detail of this war, which lasted a year *, and the result of which was, to assemble a Congress at Cambray to terminate all the differences. We shall only observe, that this Congress did not take place till four years after; that it lasted fifteen months, and that the sole result of the conferences of so many great politicians assembled, was the regulation of the ceremonial settled between the Ministers, in conformity to the plan fixed at the Congress of Utrecht.

The disgrace of Cardinal Alberoni was the confirmation of peace. This ambitious priest, raised from the situation of a very obscure private man, to that of a Minister, and from a simple rector, become a Prince of the church, of an extensive, restless, and ardent genius, had formed the incredible design of raising Spain
all

* The accession of the King of Spain to the treaty of the quadruple alliance, was signed at the Hague, by the Marquis of Beretti-Landi, his Minister, on the 17th of February 1720. He seemed to yield to the solicitations of Holland, which had herself eluded the fulfilling of the conditions of the treaty, by not joining her troops to those of other contracting powers. It was on occasion of this prudent and adroit temporizing of their High Mightinesses, that this Ambassador caused a medal to be struck, which was thought very ingenious. On one side, there was a car with three wheels, in which were seen the heralds of Austria, of Orleans, and of England, all three stretching forth their hands to Holland, who was seated on her lion, and held in one hand the symbol of liberty, and in another the fourth wheel, which she constantly refused joining to the other three. The following words were observed upon it: "*Sistit ad hoc quarta deficiente rota.*" On the reverse were these words: "*Fœdus quadruplex imperæ factum, Republica Batava fortiter prudenterque cunctante.*"

all at once from the exhausted state to which it had been reduced by the war for the succession; to give a new spring to the degenerated nation; to render Philip V. a conqueror, and to make him signalize himself as the first Prince in Europe. His designs were no less than to re-unite the states of Italy to those of his master; by this, to lower the Emperor and to circumscribe his power; and further, to prevent France and England from furnishing the Emperor with the assistance stipulated by the treaty of the quadruple alliance, he had conceived the idea of causing a diversion in the first of these kingdoms, by the conspiracy above-mentioned, and in the second, by sending the Pretender into it. Undoubtedly, had he succeeded in his project, the world would not have failed to have ranked him among the ablest politicians; he would have been the Richelieu of Spain: but he failed, and therefore was considered only as a rash, blundering, superficial contriver of a faction, without any talents of combination. He fell a sacrifice, and was himself almost the only victim of the numerous intrigues, plots, and commotions, with which he intended to disturb the tranquility of Europe. It was only in Brittany, that 26 March, four gentlemen forfeited their lives for having too lightly entered into the views of the Cardinal. In one of these, named Poncalec, was observed, that fatality, which seems to impel us against our wills to our destiny. Thirty-three of the conspirators, all men of fashion, had made their escape: this one, already on board the Spanish vessel, was terrified at the sea, made the sailors bring him back to shore, was taken, and meanly betrayed his accomplices.

Among a different people, and in another age, such a conspiracy would have produced much bloodshed, and would particularly have been the cause of many tortures, to discover even the smallest traces of it. The philosophic mind of the Regent inspired him with the idea, that clemency would be more advantageous to him

him than rigour*. This principle, which was very prudent upon this occasion, but which is often weakness in other instances, became the sole maxim of the reign of Lewis XV. in which, by an astonishing contrast, the most absolute despotism was combined with the most disgusting impunity. Besides, the epidemic delirium which had then seized upon the minds of all persons, prevented this event from exciting even the sensations that it ought to have done; for it was no more the topic of conversation than any ordinary piece of news. War and peace were then subjects equally uninteresting. The people were in the height of that system, which it is time to explain, as furnishing an epocha of a singular nature, and of which the annals of the monarchy do not furnish one similar instance. Let us examine successively who was the author, and what was the design of it; the means that were employed in it, and the result of them.

John Law was a Scotchman, the son of a goldsmith of Edinburgh. Never did man possess, in so perfect a degree, the power of calculating and combining; and he cultivated these talents, by following the bent of his inclination. He applied himself to every thing that related to Banks, lotteries, and to the trading companies of London; he studied the means of supporting them, of animating the hopes and confidence of the public, by keeping up their expectations, or by increasing their zeal. He penetrated into the inmost secrets of these matters; and increased his stock of knowledge still more, from the new Company, established by Harley Earl of Oxford, for paying off the national

* An anecdote is related of the Regent upon this occasion, which presents us with the picture of his mind:—"The Chevalier de Menilles, who had been involved in the conspiracy of Spain, was thrown into prison: but the only crime alledged against him was, the not having betrayed those who had intrusted him with the secret. A Marquis of Menilles, of another family, went to the Duke of Orleans, to assure him that the Chevalier was neither a relation nor a friend of his. So much the worse for you, replied the Regent, the Chevalier de Menilles is a very gallant gentleman."

debt. Having afterwards obtained the employment of Secretary to some Agent of the Resident's in Holland, he made himself acquainted upon the spot with the famous Bank of Amsterdam; with its capital, its produce, its resources; with the demands individuals had upon it; with its variations, its interest; with the mode of lowering or raising its stock, in order to withdraw the capital, that it might be distributed and circulated; with the order that Bank observed in its accounts and in its offices; and even with its expenditures and its form of administration. By dint of reflecting upon the information he had acquired, and of combining so many different ideas, he formed a system which was admirable for its order, and the concatenation of the various operations which constituted it: a system founded at least as much upon the knowledge of the human heart, as upon the science of numbers; but from which good faith, equity, and humanity were totally banished, to make way for perfidy, injustice, violence, and cruelty. And indeed the author of it was himself an unprincipled wretch, bound by no ties of morality or religion. Having slain or murdered a man, he was obliged to fly from Great Britain; he brought away with him another man's wife, with whom he lived many years as if she had been his own. His avidity was insatiable, and it was to gratify this passion, that all his extensive combinations were made to concur. In that exhausted state to which the war had reduced all the European powers, he foresaw that they would necessarily endeavour to re-establish their finances, and he conceived greater hopes of succeeding than ever, by the allurements of his system, which was calculated to seduce any power that would not scruple to prefer the speediest method of exonerating itself, to that which was most honest. The object of his plan, therefore, was neither trade nor the facility of levying taxes without diminishing them, nor the retrenchment of expences, nor the cultivation of the soil, nor the consumption of provisions, nor even the circulation of the specie. He had built up his system with a view that a Sovereign should pay his debts, not only without encroaching upon

upon his profusion or his luxury, but also by attracting to himself all the gold and silver of his subjects; and such was to be the illusion, that the subjects should give it up voluntarily; nay more, should be eager to bring it in, should insist upon its being received, should consider it as a favour to be preferred; and that when they were roused from this dream, if they should find themselves bereft of their property, they should not be able to lay the blame on any thing but their own avidity. A project of a most alarming nature to the human mind, and which every other man, except this daring genius, would have rejected as a chimera, if it had suggested itself to him!

This system consisted of a Bank, the real capital of which was to be the revenues of the state, and the accruing capital, some unknown kind of commerce. This benefit being calculated to keep pace with the imagination in its increase, was to be a wonderful spur to those gamblers who wished to partake of it, by means of shares which were to be made out successively, in proportion to the eagerness of the parties.

These shares, in fact, which were at first few in number, could not fail of rising to an enormous price, on account of their scarcity, and the rapidity of the circulation; this would not only facilitate, but even necessitate the making of other shares, and at an advanced premium.

This new paper, bringing the old into discredit, would furnish an excellent mode of distributing it; because the old paper would be received at par, but always with a certain proportion of money.

In order to engage persons to get rid of this old paper, the value of it was to be made uncertain by frequent fluctuations; thus the possessors of it would be apprehensive that it might become of no value in their hands: when it should be raised, one would readily convert it into shares, to secure the advantage; and when it should be lowered, one would fear that it should become lower still.

The Bank, on the contrary, were to make all their payments in bills, whose value being invariable, would keep

Keep up the confidence in them, and would render them more negotiable, and preferable to specie.

The discredit brought upon money would lower the interest of it, and the Prince was to avail himself of this reduction to make his loans, and thus discharge part of his debts, without any disbursement; for the individuals, not knowing what to do with it, would bring it back to him.

If the individuals wished to lay out their money in more solid acquisitions, lands, provisions, and merchandise would increase, and consequently so would the receipt of the taxes and the customs.

This phantom of fortune dazzling the eyes of every one, the several classes of citizens, in their eagerness for partaking of it, would interest themselves in the keeping up of the Bank so much the more; as a number of individuals either more fortunate or more dexterous, necessarily making enormous profits, would excite the general cupidity, nearly in the same manner as the highest prize in a lottery, keeps up the hopes of the adventurers, of whom the greater part must nevertheless be losers. Now, what sort of competition would there not be in this instance, where every one would be certain of winning, by increasing the dividends & proposals?

Let this illusion be kept up only for a few years, and the Sovereign will have paid-off all his debts, and will have drawn into his coffers, the greatest part of the specie of his own, and even of other kingdoms.

Such were the axioms and the corollaries of Law's system: an infernal theory, deduced certainly from facts, and which he had never ventured to consider coolly in all its horror: let us say more, a theory that was not even to be conceived; but the Regent and he, hurried away, in spite of themselves, by the rapid motion of this political machine, were obliged to yield to its impulse, till it broke to pieces by its own efforts.

However this may be, the author of this plan, whether more or less digested with respect to its consequences, perceiving that it could not be carried into execution in any state, except where the Sovereign enjoy-

ed absolute authority, considered France as the kingdom most fit for his design. Besides, he knew the people; that they were fond of novelty, that they adopted it without consideration, and gave themselves up to it with a kind of frenzy. It has been asserted, that he first proposed his system to Lewis XIV. who, notwithstanding his being in want of such a scheme, upon the bare exposition of it, rejected it with a kind of abhorrence. The author was not disconcerted, but produced it again to the Duke of Orleans. That Prince more determined, more enterprising, and certainly less scrupulous, considered it as very useful to his views; he was moreover pressed by circumstances; he wished to avail himself of the short time he had to govern, to remedy the evils of the state, which required a necessary crisis. He therefore adopted this system; he would not allow himself to think of the violent convulsion into which he was going to throw the state, and flattered himself, that his genius would be able to put a stop to its effects, whenever they should become too fatal. Nevertheless, as he was not the absolute master, and that he was obliged to act with a great deal of caution, he adopted it only slowly, and by degrees.

At first he contented himself with permitting Law to establish a Bank, in order to accustom the people by degrees to such a title, and to such an establishment. It was presented under an appearance of public utility, and it would really have been attended with very great advantages, if it had been confined to the functions specified in the edict which set it on foot.

The year following, in order to give this Bank a credit, which was to be answerable to the more extensive undertakings it was to embrace, a decree of Council was issued, which ordered
 10 April. all those who had the management of the
 1717. Royal treasure, to receive and even to discharge the bills without discount. By this decree, full of artifice, under the appearance of simplicity, the Bank was made the repository of all the revenues of the King. This was the first step towards that ideal
 fortune

Fortune it was to make: it immediately fixed the interest at seven and an half per cent.

Some time after, a trading Company was created, under the title of the *Western or Mississippi Company*. Its object was the planting and culture of the French colonies of North America. The King gave to this Company all the lands of Louisiana, and permitted French, as well as foreigners, to be concerned in it, by taking shares of it, part of the value of which might be furnished in bills of state, which lost from fifty to sixty per cent upon the spot. How was it possible to resist such a bait, more especially as the country was represented as a Peru, more fertile in gold than that of the Spaniards! Even the Parliament was taken in, and made no scruple of registering. They yet saw nothing in this, but what might be useful to the state.

In 1718, the Bank made further advances. It was announced under the title of *Bank Royal*, by a declaration of his Majesty, which signified, that the King had reimbursed in money the capitals of those persons who had shares in the Bank, which they had only paid in bills of state, and that these capitals had been converted into shares of the Western Company; and in a word, that the King was become sole proprietor of all the shares of the Bank. Mr. Law was appointed Director to it, under the authority of his Majesty and the orders of the Regent.

Three things were the result of this declaration: one, that the Monarch, being thus transformed into an universal Banker of his kingdom, the whole French nation, the first Lords and Princes, who are ever the apes of their master, were not ashamed to exercise the same trade, so that they all became Financiers, Brokers, and Usurers. The second result was, that the public, astonished that the King should buy up these shares of the Bank at 500 livres * in specie, when they had originally cost no more than 500 livres in bills of

D 2

the

* Upwards of twenty pounds.

the state—that is to say, reckoning the discredit of these bills, about 170 livres *, in real value—conceived a very high opinion of them, and contended zealously to obtain them. The last result was, that the shares of the Western Company, being preferred by the Clerks of the Bank to the reimbursement of them in specie, were reckoned an excellent acquisition, so that the rise of them kept pace with that of the shares of the Bank.

The Parliament, since the last Bed of Justice, had opened their eyes, and interfered no more in matters of finance. At another time, the want of the legal form of registering in this Court, would have alarmed the Parisians; but such was now the delirium, that they saw nothing but the phantom of fortune which deluded them, and which was realized to their eyes. This enthusiasm soon reached the provinces, and, to gratify the eagerness of the people, private offices of the Bank were established by decree of Council in the

27 Dec. cities of Lyons, la Rochelle, Tours, Or-
1718. leans, and Amiens. The Ministry did not

dare to establish any in the cities that had Parliaments, because they foresaw that those companies would oppose them. Other cities were suspected of opposition, and as those cities did not seem to care about the matter, the Ministry were fearful of dissatisfying them, and of occasioning on their part, an expostulation which might dissipate the general illusion. Lisle, Marseilles, Nantz, Saint Malo, and Bayonne, were distinguished by this prudent exclusion.

The same decree, of Council forbade the making of any payment in money above the sum of 600 livres †, and by a clause which restrained commerce even in its detail, and characterised the littleness of the views and means of the legislature, the base coin and copper money were not to be given or received in the markets above six livres ‡, unless it was to make up odd money.

The

* About seven pounds.

† Twenty-five pounds.

‡ Five shillings.

The evident design of this arrangement was to render the Bank bills more necessary, and thus to enforce the circulation and multiplication of them.

In effect, an order was soon issued to make out one hundred million of Bank bills. *These, 22 April.* said the decree of Council, *cannot be subject to 1719.* any diminution, as the specie is; inasmuch as the circulation of the Bank bills is more useful to the subjects of his Majesty, than that of the specie of gold and silver, and that they deserve a particular protection, in preference to the coin made of materials brought from foreign countries.

A few months after, there appeared pro- 12 Dec.
hibitions to make payments above ten livres * in silver, and three hundred † livres in gold. Thus gold and silver being debased by these successive and declared diminutions, were in Decree of
some sort proscribed and thrown out of com- 23 Sep-
merce by this decree. People were there-
fore obliged to carry their specie to the Bank, and to exchange it for paper. They ran there in crowds, conjuring and imploring the Clerks to receive their specie, and thinking themselves happy when they succeeded. Upon which a merry fellow wittily called out to those who were the most forward; *Don't be afraid, Gentlemen, that your money should lie on your hands, it shall all be taken away from you.* Some individuals then set up this trade, they were substitutes to the Bank, and as every body would absolutely have bills, and that there was an apprehension of their failing, they preferred, for expedition sake, losing three or four per cent. of their money. In a word, the same method was practised with regard to money, as with a bill of Exchange: it was discounted.

So many treasures poured into this public depot, should have rendered it inexhaustible. Nevertheless, the Bank was drained: there were, as the Regent called them, some obstinates, that is to say, persons who

D 3

could

* Between eight and nine shillings.

† Twelve pounds ten shillings.

could not persuade themselves, that paper was of greater value than money, and who were continually realizing the former. In order to deceive these people, the interest of money was reduced to three and a half, two and a half, and two per cent; the coin was kept in continual variation, sometimes diminishing, sometimes increasing it, by a multitude of decrees, which contradicted themselves, as well in their detail, as in the causes expressed in their preambles. And this delirium of the legislation produced the desired effect, for it so effectually overturned every principle, so darkened the understanding, and so changed all the notions of things, that the people, not knowing what to adhere to, gave way to the impulses of the government.

1720. It was in the height of this general anxiety, that the Regent completed the abuse of his authority by a monstrous violence, which will undoubtedly place him among the principal tyrants who have been most expert in political tortures. The

27 Feb. frenzy was carried so far, that a decree of Council was issued, forbidding every person, and even every community, either secular or religious, to keep by them more than 500 livres * in specie. The motive adduced for this barbarity, was a supposition, that there were twelve hundred millions † of specie in the kingdom, in stagnation, from the avidity of persons who having made great fortunes, accumulated and hoarded up without intermission. The punishment was not death, as Law would have had it, but, beside a heavy fine, the sums found were confiscated:—informers were encouraged by being promised a third of the confiscation, and the most odious researches were authorized, by joining the several officers of justice to search wherever the Directors of the Bank should require them. At length, the use of money was still more restrained, by forbidding that any payment should be made, above a hundred livres ‡, except in paper.

It

* Near twenty-one pounds.

† Fifty millions sterling.

‡ Above four pounds.

It must be acknowledged, however, that the Duke of Orleans was not cruel; his intention was to frighten, rather than to torment. In order to succeed the better, the farce was played, according to his orders, by some trusty persons, who were to let themselves be surprised in delinquency against the decree. They were proceeded against, imprisoned, and rewarded in secret for their connivance. These examples did indeed intimidate. The *Dupes*, for so they were called at the palace, where the gravest matters are treated with *bons mots*, hastened to obey; all the money in deposit with the notaries, in trusts, or in other public places, was converted into paper. The Courtiers, ever slaves to the will of their master, gave way to that of their Sovereign without murmuring, and those who were not well with the Regent, dreading his resentment, conformed to it also. The Chancellor Pontchartrain, who was then retired from public employment, sent 57,000 louis d'or to the Bank, valued then at 72 livres* each. This capture diverted as much his R. H. as the conduct of another magistrate must have chagrined him.

The President Lambert de Vernon, went to the Duke of Orleans, and told him that he came to name a man to him who had 500,000 livres† in gold. His R. H. started back with surprise and horror, crying out with his usual strength of expression: *Oh! Mr. President, what a r——y sort of a trade have you taken upon you there?* the President replied; *Sir, I do nothing more than obey the law, and it is that which you indirectly treat with such an appellation. As for the rest, your R. H. need not be alarmed, and may do me more justice: It is myself I came to inform against, in the hope of having the liberty to keep at least a part of this sum, which I prefer to all the bills of the Bank.* The more noble and firm conduct of the First President of the Chamber of Accounts, will certainly be much more admired. He answered, to those who came to search him:

D 4

* About three pounds.

† Near twenty-one thousand pounds.

him: "I declare to you that I have 500,000 livres *
 " in gold; they are for the service of the King, and
 " I have no account to give of them but to his Majes-
 " ty, when he shall be of age."

Nevertheless these vexations and this tyranny would not have produced the desired effect, if a vent had not been found for this paper, with which France was deluged, by converting it into another of a more specious nature; this was, the shares in the Western Company, the profits of which were to increase daily, by the assistances that were given to it.

This Company had acquired in 1718 the charter and the effects of the Senegal Company, together with their Negro trade; the charter of the Chinese and East-India Companies were afterwards annexed to it, and all the territories, islands, forts, magazines, dwellings, ammunition, and ships, that had belonged to the East-India Company, were transferred to it. It had been appointed and entitled the *India Company*. The revenues of the tobacco had been farmed out to it; the King had ceded to it the profits upon the coin; the lease of the Farmers-general had been annulled in its favour, and the offices of Receivers-general of the finance had been suppressed. In a word, at the last meeting †, the Company had been shewn a mass of 120 millions ‡ of profit, allotting 40 per cent. as the dividend of each share for the following year. Then it was that no scruple was made of discovering that the origin of this Company was in common with that of the Bank, by blending together these two monstrous productions of the same father; of that same Mr. Law,

who had just been appointed Comptroller-general of Finance. He had first renounced his religion, at the persuasion of l'Abbé Tencin; a circumstance which gave occasion to the following epigram:

Tencin,

* Near twenty-one thousand pounds.

† This meeting was held on the 30th of December, 1719. The manuscript account of this session is a curious piece, which, by reason of its length, we are obliged to put at the end. It will be found under No. III.

‡ Five millions Sterling.

Tencin, a curse on thy seraphic zeal,
Which by persuasion hath contriv'd the means,
To make the Scotchman at our altars kneel,
Since which, we all are poor as Capucines*.

This jest which was but too true, did not prevent the general frenzy of brokerage from rising to such a pitch, that at the time of the union of the two Companies, the India Company had produced six hundred thousand shares, amounting to 1,677,500,000 livres† of original capital, the gaming in which raised the prices so excessively high, that the mass of them is considered by an able calculator‡; as representing as much as six thousand millions§ in speculation.

In these times of crisis, there are always people dexterous enough to profit by the folly of others; and these are the persons who contribute wonderfully to excite the general emulation. Little attention is paid to the numbers that are ruined, and at whose expense these prodigious fortunes are made; or we attribute their losses to themselves; to foolishness, ignorance, or misconduct. We shall say nothing of Law's profits: being at the head of the Bank, that is, depositary of all the money in the kingdom, he was capable of enriching himself by the shortest and surest method. At his first setting out, he had bought of the Count d'Evreux, the county of Tancarville, in Normandy, for 800,000 livres||. He had offered the Prince of Carignan, 1,400,000 livres¶ for the Hôtel de Soissons; to the Marchioness de Beuvron, 500,000 livres*, for her estate at Lillebonne; and to the Duke of Sully,

D 5.

1,700,000

*Foin de ton zele Séraphique,
Malheureux Abbé de Tencin;
Depuis que Law est Catholique,
Tout le Royaume est Capucin!

† Near seventy millions sterling.

‡ M. Necker in his "Answer to l'Abbé Morellet," in 1767, concerning the Abbé's "Memorial against the India Company."

§ Two hundred and fifty millions sterling.

|| Between thirty and forty thousand pounds.

¶ Between fifty-eight and fifty-nine thousand pounds.

* Near twenty-one thousand pounds.

1,700,000 livres *, for his Marquisate of Rosny. The height of impudence was, that he wanted to ascribe the rapidity of this enormous opulence to the goodness of his system; and the height of stupidity, is, that people should believe, and attempt to imitate him.

The Regent endeavoured to confirm the truth of this by immense liberalities, which he ascribed to the same cause. He gave one million † to the Hotel-Dieu, as much to the hospital-general, and as much to the foundlings. He employed 1,500,000 livres ‡ to pay the debts of several prisoners: the Marquis of Nocé, the Count de la Mothe, and the Count de Roie, received each a gratification of 100,000 livres § in shares a stroke of politics, which had not less its effect, and restored one hundred fold to the Bank.

Among the Princes of the blood, the Duke of Bourbon profited the most fortunately by the shares that Law had given them for their support. That Prince bought up all the land he could find suitable to him: he caused Chantilly to be rebuilt with royal magnificence; he established a menagerie there, which was incomparably better stocked than the King's: he imported from England, at one time, 150 race-horses, each of which, at the rate money was then at in France, cost from 15 to 1800 livres ||. At last, to pay his court to the regent, who was passionately fond of his daughter, the Dutchess of Berry, he gave that Princess, who was eager after pleasure, a superb festival, which lasted four or five days, and cost an immense sum of money,

Amongst individuals, it seems as if chance had been particularly favourable to obscure persons. A certain widow of Namur, named Caumont, was much the topic of conversation, who had supplied the army with tents and other merchandise of the same kind. By
some

* Between seventy and eighty thousand pounds.

† Above forty thousand pounds.

‡ Sixty-two thousand five hundred pounds.

§ Above four thousand pounds.

|| From sixty to eighty pounds on an average.

some lucky revolutions of fortune, she got into her hands to the amount of 70 millions* of Bank bills. *The Memoirs of the Regency* make mention of a hump-backed man †, who acquired in the course of a few days 150,000 livres ‡, for having lent his hump by way of writing desk for the brokers. Footmen were frequently observed in their masters carriages, who had been seen behind them the day before. These same *Memoirs* speak of a person, whose change of condition was so rapid, that he was going to resume his former post, if he had not been apprised of the mistake; of another, who having had a quarrel in his carriage, and being obliged to get out of it to fight, cried out: *Gentlemen of the livery, come to my assistance!* and of a third, who having ordered an equipage for himself, and being asked what arms he would have put upon it: answered, *the finest*.

It was in the street called Quincampoix, that the negotiation of the shares was carried on, there being yet no exchange. Fortunate were those who had houses in this street! A room was let as high as ten livres § per day. But the great croud had no occasion for a dwelling there. By break of day the passage of this narrow street was choked up with gamesters: whose madness continued increasing the whole day. In the evening a bell was rung, and they were obliged to be driven away by force. There was at the time a caricature print engraved, which, under a gross, but just allegory, gives a very natural picture of the ravages occasioned by this epidemical frenzy. It is still preserved by the connoisseurs as a precious monument of history. It is entitled: *A true portrait of the Lord Quincampoix*. Accordingly we see in the center of the print

* Near three millions sterling.

† The same thing happened to a certain M. de Nanthia, who was not deformed, but used to lend his back for a writing-desk. This is a fact well known in the family of M. Amelot, at present minister, whose Welch uncle this M. de Nanthia was. It is from the family itself that we have the anecdote.

‡ Six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds.

§ Eight shillings and four pence.

print the representation of that Lord's head, with this device: *Aut Cesar, at Nihil*. Over it is placed a crown of peacock's feathers and thistles, which is offered to him by *Folly*, with this other inscription: *I am the laughing-stock of the wise and the foolish*. Under the portrait a kettle is seen smoking, which a devil is heating with paper. A broker is throwing by handfuls into the cauldron his gold and silver, which melting, produces nothing but new paper. A figure of *Despair*, placed behind this unfortunate man, seems waiting to lay hold of him at the conclusion of this operation *.

Such was the situation of almost the whole kingdom of France, where the contagion had quickly spread from one to another, in such a manner as to affect persons of the best understandings: this is evidently proved by the anecdote of De la Mothe, and of the Abbé Terrasson. These two wise men, (for the first, though a poet, was still more a philosopher) so famous for their exquisite sense, for their logical accuracy, and for the depth of their reasoning, were conversing one evening upon the folly of the day, and laughing at it. Some time after they met face to face in the Quincampoix-street. Being at first ashamed, they were desirous of avoiding each other: but at length, having nothing to reproach themselves with, they agreed, that a man ought never to swear against his doing any one thing; and that there was no sort of extravagance of which man was not capable; after which, they each of them went their way to make the best bargain they could for themselves.

The most dreadful event of this infernal street, was the melancholy catastrophe of Count Hoorn. This young Flemish Nobleman, only twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, excited by the Demon of cupidity, was urged on to murder a merchant, whom he drew into a public-house, in order to rob him of his pocket-book. It was in open day; he was soon taken up, and

* We refer our readers to the collection of pieces serving to illustrate this history, for a satire in verse, containing the explanation of the commentary upon this allegorical picture, and all its accompaniments. It is placed under N^o. IV.

and broken alive upon the wheel, though allied to several foreign houses, and related even to the Regent himself. That Prince who knew the rigorous duties of justice, would not suffer himself to be moved by this consideration. He answered in energetic terms: *When I have got bad blood, I have it let out* *.

The balance between this paper and the specie of France being once destroyed, by the two great profusion of the former, which some persons estimate as high as six thousand millions †, not only the funds of the Company became insufficient to keep up so enormous a credit, but the sum likewise exceeded by more than two-thirds of the whole specie and mass of gold and silver that might then be in the kingdom. In vain were all sorts of stratagems devised to support this Bank, so far as even to publish a declaration forbidding all the King's subjects, 11 March. or foreigners residing in the kingdom, all communities and other bodies, to keep, after the first of May, any specie and materials of gold, and after the first of December any specie or materials in silver, upon pain of confiscation and fine: the officers of the mint were likewise forbidden to coin any; but nothing succeeded: the people laughed at an absurd legislation, which was contradicting itself from morning to night, which made a crime of the most necessary æconomical virtues, and which lost itself in the labyrinth of its own regulations, that have filled twelve volumes in quarto. The vertigo was dissipating, and people were beginning to realize as fast as possible, when the fatal day arrived, which was the celebrated epocha of the downfall of the system.

M. d'Argenson, who had long been jealous that a foreigner should supplant him in the confidence of the Regent, not only favoured the system no longer, but
was

* It is added, that the nearest relations of Count Moorn, having solicited that the nature of his punishment might at least be changed, that the infamy of it might not fall upon them, the Regent replied: "It will not be his punishment, but the crime which brought him to it, that will dishonour your family."

† Two hundred and fifty millions sterling.

was also endeavouring to open the eyes of the Prince respecting it. It was with much difficulty that he prevailed, and he was obliged to call in the assistance of the other intimate confidants of his R. H. the Abbé Dubois, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and M. le Blanc, Secretary at War*, to concur with him separately in this patriotic work. Sometimes the Regent seemed inclined to expel the author of a revolution so extraordinary and so fatal. One day he even told the Keeper of the Seals, who was speaking to him in a stronger manner than usual, that he might secure Law's person; but when the chief magistrate required an order in writing for this purpose, he could not obtain it. He was therefore obliged to have recourse to artifice, and to make the new Comptroller-general himself, the accomplice of his own destruction, and of that of his system. In a committee holden between the Regent, himself, the Abbé Dubois, M. le Blanc, and the Minister of the Finances, he observed that a violent crisis must necessarily have a short termination; that the present crisis, which was now arrived at its acme, must consequently decline; that its object being now fulfilled—which was to make all the specie, and even all the materials of gold and silver in the kingdom, return by extraordinary means into the hands of government—it was now necessary to prevent the public from collecting the precious harvest; that the most certain method of effecting this, would be to begin, by reducing the mass of paper; the consequence of this would be, that the people, either not diminishing the confidence they had in it, would keep it in hopes that the reduction would be only temporary, and from the fear that they should at once lose a great part of their capital; or that the paper falling into discredit, they would crowd in, to get rid of it. In the first instance, the government would have it in their power to settle any operations they pleased; and in the second, they might avail themselves even of the confusion and disorder which would

* Councils had been suppressed in 1718, and the Secretaries of State re-established at the head of the departments.

would result from this breaking up, to establish some troublesome, but necessary formalities, by which, in appearing to concur with wishes of the bearers of the paper, one might delay the effect of them; and thus time might be gained to proceed to some alterations, expedient for liberating the state.

All this was more specious than solid, but it was especially a detestable piece of Machiavelism. It gives us the idea of a set of thieves at the corner of a wood, consulting about the best method of levying contributions on the passengers. It must, however, be acknowledged, that there are cases in which the imperious claims of necessity become the only law of the Statesman, and France was now in this state of subversion; the helm of finance was slipping out of the hand of their Administration, and even out of those of the Regent. In this embarrassment, Law thought himself fortunate, to be furnished with the means of getting out of the labyrinth into which he had thrown himself, and he was the foremost in destroying his own work, by consenting to a decree, which 21 May. reduced the Bank-bills, and the shares of the Company, to one-half of their value.

It is impossible to describe the consternation with which the city of Paris was stricken at this news. It soon was converted into rage; seditious libels were posted up, and were sent in hand-bills even into the houses*. The Duke of Bourbon, the Prince of Conti, and Marshal Villeroi, who had not been summoned to the committee in which the decree had been issued, protested against it, and pretended that it was surreptitious, since it had not been submitted to the examination of the council of Regency. The Parliament, which had not hitherto interfered in the affairs of the Bank,

* One of the hand-bills was conceived, according to the "Memoirs of the Regency," in the following terms: "Sir, and Madam, this is to give you notice, that a St. Bartholomew's day will be enacted again on Saturday or Sunday, if affairs do not alter. You are desired not to stir out, you nor your servants. God preserve you from the flames. Give notice to your neighbours. Dated Saturday 25 May, 1720."

Bank, and had always been in opposition to it, by one of those contradictions too frequent in their conduct, now exerted themselves to support it. The First President, whom they sent to the Royal Palace, was very well received. The Regent, in his present embarrassment, was not displeased at this step. He did not conceal his satisfaction from the Head of their Company, and answered him: "Sir, I am very glad that this circumstance gives me an opportunity of being reconciled to the Parliament, whose advice I will follow in every thing."

Six days after the publication of the decree of reduction, that decree was revoked 27 May, 1720. by another, which restored the paper to its value, but did not restore the confidence of the public, more especially as payment was at the very same time stopped at the Bank. This was done upon the pretence of examining the knaveries. Commissaries were sent to seal up the chests, and make up the accounts. Some of the Clerks, and especially those whose business it was to make the signatures, were dismissed for a fortnight, with the prohibition of quitting Paris. So that this second decree did more harm than the first, by throwing again into the channel of commerce things that had been discredited; and with which fraudulent debtors paid and ruined their lawful creditors.

Among these sharpers tricks, that of the President de Novion deserves an exception, as being very laughable at least, if not more honest than the rest. He had sold to Law one of his estates, and, notwithstanding the prohibitions, stipulated the payment of it in gold, to which the Scotchman readily consented. The sum was from eight to nine hundred thousand livres*. The magistrate's eldest son availed himself of the right of redemption, and repaid the purchaser in bills.

To put a stop to this confusion, after having exhausted every resource of finance that was thought capable of restoring the illusion, it was at last found necessary

* Between thirty and forty thousand pounds.

cessary to put an end to the matter, by stopping the course of the Bank-bills, and bringing back money into trade. Thus was Law's system dissolved, the result of which was the doubling of the national debt, instead of diminishing it, as he had given reason to expect. Independent of the debts contracted under the reign of Lewis XIV. which still subsisted, there remained to pay off to the amount of eighteen hundred millions* of this paper, of which two thousand six hundred millions† had been distributed among the public.

The author of this detestable system soon experienced the kind of treatment that persons of his stamp usually do: he was hooted by the populace, who wanted to pull him to pieces; his coach was broken; and he himself escaped only by the activity of his horses and the boldness of his coachman. He immediately resigned, into the hands of the Regent, his appointment of Comptroller-general. He was not less the director of all the operations of the same year 1720. He had not yet lost the confidence of his R. H. who had always a secret inclination for the system, which Law flattered him might be restored again; and the Prince did not give it up, till Law had in vain exhausted all the resources of his imagination. He was dismissed silently, and every one knows that he died of poverty at Venice.

The system having failed, it became necessary to put matters into the same state they were in before 1719; to withdraw from the India Company the administration of the revenues of the state; to restore to the King the profits of the coin; to re-establish the offices of Receivers General of Finance, of Payers and Comptrollers of annuities, and even of Farmers General.

A kind of second Chamber of Justice was immediately instituted, to examine into the conduct of all the principal and subordinate officers in the administration of the Bank; in which those of the India Company were

* Seventy-five millions sterling.

† Above one hundred millions sterling.

were likewise included. These inquiries after sharpers, stock-jobbers, and persons who had acquired immense riches, served only to discover some dreadful malversations; but did not relieve the people, any more than the examination of the Financiers had done at the beginning of the Regency. They received at least some little comfort in their miseries, from the public sale that was made of Law's goods, and the confiscation of his estates, of which he had fourteen that had titles annexed to them.

Afterwards, in order to be able to reduce the public debt in proportion to the strength of the *Decree of* state, it was ordered that a general review *26 Jan.* should be made of all the new property that *1721.* existed, and that the proprietors should be obliged to give declarations of its origin, and of the price they had acquired it at, in order that this property might be reduced in proportions. There were 800 Clerks employed at this business, which produced discoveries no less striking than the former. If we credit the memoirs of the times, the fortune of M. le Blanc amounted to seventeen millions*; that of M. de la Faye, to as much; that of M. de Fargès, to twenty millions†; that of M. de Vernie, to twenty-eight millions‡; and that of Madame de Chaumont to one hundred and twenty-seven millions§. From the ruins of how many thousand private fortunes must not these have been accumulated?

By this review it appeared, that the account of all the demands, of whatever kind, then extant, either upon the King or the Company, amounted to three thousand two hundred millions||, and that almost one third of this sum consisted in shares on the Company, whose capital was nine hundred millions¶. We may observe, that this capital was already much diminished since

* Above seven hundred thousand pounds.

† Upwards of eight hundred thousand pounds.

‡ Upwards of one million sterling.

§ Upwards of five millions sterling.

|| Upwards of one hundred and thirty-three millions.

¶ Thirty-seven millions five hundred thousand pounds.

since the beginning, which we have calculated at nearly double that sum; as much from the voluntary sacrifices of the Lords of the Mississipi, at the head of which were the Duke of Bourbon, the Duke d'Antin, and Law himself; as by reducing the number of shares from six hundred thousand to fifty thousand, at the same time of their being liquidated.

The last singular circumstance of so many monstrous and despotic operations, was the necessity of establishing another tribunal, designed under the title of *Chambre de l'Arse*ⁿ*al*, which took cognizance of all the malversations that had been committed there; and it was found that a Master of requests, named Talhouet, together with an Abbé Clement and their agents, were convicted of having conveyed away for their own benefit, to the amount of at least thirty millions * in shares. The two first had been condemned to be beheaded, and the others to be hanged: 27 Aug. but at that time, as now, justice was with- 1723. out vigour against notorious rascals; they were pardoned, or at least their punishments were commuted.

The same thing happened with regard to two other culprits, persons of real consequence; or rather they got off infinitely better, though there was great reason to think them culpable, and to make examples of them, which would have been so much the more useful as their conditions were more exalted.

The first, a Peer of France, a member of the Council of Regency, and at the head of the Council of Finance, was the Duke de la Force. Independent of his dignities, which ought to have prevented him from subjecting himself to an accusation, less criminal perhaps than it was mean and odious, he was reputed to be one of those philosophic men of genius with which the Court of the Regent abounded. It would not have been natural to suppose him possessed of a sordid cupidity, to which the elevation of his birth, and that of the sentiments he made a parade of, were equally

* One million, two hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

equally repugnant. But the evidences were so strong against him, that the first Judges having begun the hearing of a trial for monopoly in which he was involved, referred the matter to the Parliament. This nobleman had jobbed to advantage in the Quincampoix-street; and, in order not to lose the immense profit he had made, as he could not realize in money, he had entered into the scheme of converting his paper into fine spices, and of securing to himself, by another lucrative trade, a further increase of riches. He had, as is usual in such cases, borrowed the names of other persons, who were taken up, and betrayed him.

6 Feb. 1721. The Princes and Peers were met to hear the charge of the Attorney General. The indignation ran so high, that they were already voting to seize upon his person, when Marshal Villeroi saved him, by demanding that he should be previously heard. This Peer was, according to appearances, interested in favour of the accused: he knew that in criminal matters the great point was to gain time. The Duke de la Force, summoned to be heard, delayed on pretence of etiquette; he refused to pull off his sword before the Parliament, alledging, that the Counsellors who were accused in the same manner, kept their gowns on. This contest was previously to be settled.

But the circumstance that will make it very difficult to persuade posterity of the Duke de la Force's innocence, was the violence he used to prevent justice from obtaining the proofs it might have got of his crime in the neighbourhood of his house. He was ordered to appear personally, on account of this new offence. This was of little consequence to him, if he succeeded in the essential point; which was to delay, to excite divisions between the Peers and the Magistrates, and even to occasion a separation between the former. The success went beyond his expectations, and there was a decree of appeal to the Council. This occasioned vigorous remonstrances from the parliament, the model of many others that have since been made upon the same subject. In these first of the kind, they had the
advantage

advantage of speaking in the name of three Princes of the blood *, and in that of the great number of Dukes who had not separated themselves from this Company.

The Court yielded to these pressing remonstrances; but, preserving still the arbitrary power, which gradually became the sole principle of government, they sent back the cause of the Duke de la Force to be tried before the Parliament, as by permission; a snare which the latter avoided, by registering the cause with certain restrictions. This cause lasted several months longer, and the illustrious person accused had all the leisure to form intrigues and to clear himself. A slight stain was however fixed upon him, inasmuch as the intervening decree signified, *that the Duke de la Force would be expected to act with more circumspection, and to behave himself in future in an irreproachable manner, so as became his birth, and his rank of Duke and Peer.* His agents were more severely punished, less, undoubtedly, on account of their supposed monopoly, which was part of their trade, than for having brought in question the honour of a great nobleman; whom, as men, the Magistrates could not avoid finding culpable, but whom, as Judges, they could not condemn: at least so we ought to think for their credit. The Duke's accomplices were a Mr. Orient, who had been received a freeman of the Grocer's company, and who was the pretended purchaser of the merchandize said to belong to the Chevalier de Landais, who was the real representative of the French Peer. The first was censured and deprived of his freedom, and the second was admonished and condemned to pay six hundred livres * damages and interest, and to satisfy all the costs; as also was Bernard, Secretary to the Duke de la Force, and du Parc, his brother.

The second illustrious culprit, whose cause was brought before the Chamber of the Arsenal, was M. le Blanc, Secretary for the war department. Towards the

* The Duke of Bourbon, the Count of Charolois, and the Prince of Conti.

† Twenty-five pounds.

the end of the reign of Lewis XV. when the depredations of Ministers were multiplied to excess, it was much wished that one of them, after the example of *Enguerrand* †, should suffer, in order to deter the rest. A Court has been heard to say to a King in its remonstrances, *Sir, it would be of very great use, if Ministers who betray their trust were to be punished* ‡. And perhaps the chastisement of this one might have saved France from many evils.

M. le Blanc, already called to account by the Chamber of Justice before he became Minister, was removed in the month of July, was arrested in November, 1722. and confined in the Bastille; and from an evident and shameful collusion he was not brought to trial, till after some Paymasters of Provinces, Town Majors, and M. le Jonchere, Paymaster General of the army, who were all accused of frauds and malversations, had been made prisoners. With respect to M. le Blanc, some considerable sums were in question, of which an account was demanded from him, and which he pretended to have disposed of only according to the Regent's orders.

The fortunate circumstances that attended the accusation, contributed not a little to exculpate him; and the length of time was especially of great service to him, for his trial lasted near two years. He was set at liberty with the Count and the Chevalier de Belleisle, and M. Moreau de Sechelles, who were jointly accused with him. Some memoirs of the times assure us that he justified himself fully.

An author*, who is rather inclined to satire than to indulgence, speaks of him in the following manner.

“ M. le Blanc had justly acquired a great reputation; and his merit, his experience, his affability to
“ military

† Minister of Finances, who, according to Hutin, was hanged in 1315, under Lewis X. All the historians speak of him as being innocent.

‡ See the remonstrances of the Parliament of Provence, of the 19th of February 1771, p. 22. l. 2.

* The author of “ Anecdotes of Persia.”

“military men, and above all, his misfortunes, made him long regretted.”

In a word, the circumstance that ought to have silenced all his enemies, and to have proved his innocence to the public incontestibly, was his restoration to that post in the Ministry, which he occupied at the time of his disgrace.

The fall of the system had occasioned other sinister events, such as the dismissal of M. d'Argenson, and the banishment of the Parliament to Pontoise. It seems that the disgrace of one was merely an affair of humour and convenience, and that of the other a piece of revenge of the Regent's, for having been taken for a dupe. He loved the Keeper of the Seals; but that head of the law was not agreeable to the public. In the crisis his R.H. now experienced, it was necessary he should be reconciled to the people; and he imagined he had found out the means of effecting this, by recalling M. d'Aguesseau; a Magistrate infinitely more popular. Besides, he flattered himself he should thus gain the favour of the Parliament, by obtaining their approbation of the measures he was taking to raise the bills. But this Company, which had opposed so strongly the fatal blow given to the Bank, by a new contrariety, would not concur in its re-establishment, whether it were that they had found out their error, or that they conceived the remedy to be worse than the disease.

7 June
1720.

The translation of the Parliament to Pontoise, by virtue of letters *de Cachet* of the 21st July, was executed with a great deal of parade. The First President was guarded in his room by an officer, and two centinels were placed at his door to prevent any one from speaking to him. The troops of the Household were ordered to keep themselves in readiness to march in case of necessity. Patrols both on horseback and on foot, were scattered in the different quarters of Paris. The King's regiment, with those of Champagne and Navarre, were on their march, with several others, to form a camp in the environs of Paris of twenty-five thousand men. Precautions which were rather useless, for eve-

ry man was engaged in thinking of his own situation, and paid little attention to that of the Parliament; who were even reproached with not having prevented the evil, by opposing it in its origin.

The pleaders were those who suffered most from this exile; in vain did they flock to Pontoise, nothing was done there: the Counsellors, availing themselves of the liberty given them by their profession, would not leave Paris. In vain did they threaten to expunge from their list all those who did not come there: the lawyers looked upon some of their brethren, who were intimidated by these menaces, with an evil eye. The Parliament in this city considered themselves as in the country; a good table was kept, high gaming went forwards, balls were given to the ladies; and this city, by the expences these Gentlemen made there, and by the suite they drew after them, regained what it had lost in Bank bills.

By a singularity which will not fail to strike the philosophic reader who reflects upon events, it happened that this same Chancellor, who was recalled to soothe the Parliament, marked his restoration, on the contrary, merely by signing these monuments of their disgrace and proscription. It is true he resisted at first; he represented that it would be calling in question his attachment to the laws and the magistrature; and he threatened to retire: a week was allowed him to consider of it. Frêne, his country seat, was rather a fine spot; but he preferred the capital. At the expiration of the fatal term, he signed whatever was required of him; and some ludicrous person of Paris wrote upon the gate of his hotel these holy words, *Et homo factus est*; the application of which was very humiliating.

Besides, the Parliament soon put themselves in a situation not to have any reproach to make to him; they relaxed in a still more shameful manner, and, fearing that they should be exiled to Blois, where they were threatened to be transferred, they registered many things they had before refused, respecting the Bank bills, under the secret convention that they should be

be reimbursed in specie for all the bills which they held. An arrangement of such a kind was not, without doubt, the open act of the whole Company. It is well known that in public assemblies, though the most depraved, though even such as where a Cartouch or Mandrin presides, honour, probity, and disinterestedness are constantly spoken of; but all bodies are moved by some chiefs or by certain members, whose genius gives them an ascendant over the rest. These are first brought over, and the Court becomes mistress of the suffrages which their eloquence attracts, ostentines by making a boast of the good of the state, and of their patriotism. The Parliament was restored on the 20th of December 1720.

It was then that M. d'Aguesseau found himself firmly seated in his dignity, and M. d'Argenson, who had flattered himself with the hope of regaining the seals, lost sight of them entirely. Although his disgrace was accompanied with many marks of distinction; that he kept the title of Keeper of the Seals; that he was at liberty to attend the Councils whenever he pleased; and that the Regent, though he removed him from his post, did not withdraw his esteem and confidence from him, but continued still to consult him in all matters of importance, yet he was not able to bear the change. That man, whose mind was so firm, who had expected this revolution, who had often said that the honours of those times were merely transient honours, experienced the same fate as most persons of the same kind. His philosophy abandoned him; he could not bear up against chagrin; but fell into a languishing disease, and died at the end of a year. The hatred of the populace of Paris was roused at the sight of his corpse, which was conveying to the church of *St. Nicholas du Chardonneret*, where the burying-place of his family was. The tumult was great; his corpse was very near being pulled to pieces, and his two sons, who were following the funeral procession in their coaches, were obliged to make their escape. This fury proves, that, notwithstanding the zeal of some apologists in defending M.

d'Argenson, for having ever been concerned in the system, yet he was considered as one of the authors of it, and that if he did oppose it, it was too late, and when the evil was irremediable. We must however do him the justice to say, that he favoured the system merely as a politician, and not as a vile mercenary; and that he did not only avoid increasing his own riches by this infamous method, but also prevented his children from enriching themselves by it. He said with the Psalmist, *Oleum peccatoris non impinguet caput meum*.

All these private catastrophes, the consequences of the system, were nothing in comparison with the general catastrophe of the kingdom, almost ruined, and at the brink of destruction. It was necessary to relieve, as much as possible, millions of unhappy persons, dying with misery, with this paper in their hands. We have calculated, that all the property brought in at the general *visa*, exclusive of the shares of the India Company, amounted to two thousand two hundred millions*. We say *brought in*, because many persons obstinately refused to undergo this review, and that madmen were still found giving a value to the paper though it was cancelled, notwithstanding the repeated prohibitions issued to negotiate it in this state, even under penalty of a fine†.

These two thousand two hundred millions, by the operations of the *visa*, had more than 500 millions‡ taken off from them, of which the State was discharged: therefore, there were seventeen hundred millions § of

* Upwards of ninety-one millions and a half sterling. According to the verbal process of the 11th of September 1728, they amounted to twenty-two millions ["near one million sterling"] more.

† Of three thousand livres [one hundred and twenty-five pounds.] There were stock-jobbers in 1722, who still gave sixty livres [two pounds ten shillings] in money, for a bill of one thousand livres [above forty pounds] and from sixty, to sixty-five livres [between two and three pounds] for a share in the India Company.

‡ Five hundred and twenty-two millions of livres [near twenty-one millions sterling.]

§ Upwards of seventy millions sterling.

of this property remaining to be paid off, certificates for the liquidation of which were delivered, which were to be discharged to their value in specie.

Montieur le Pelletier de la Houssaye, appointed Comptroller General after Mr. Law, that is to say, at the most troublesome and most critical period France had ever experienced, made a report to the Council of Regency, in which he demonstrated the impossibility of answering the engagements made with the King's new creditors. He made a proposal to create to the amount of forty millions * of annuities, charged upon the Hotel de Ville at Paris, and upon the taxes; or to receive the liquidations of offices created or to be created; or to proceed in any other manner, that should prevent much money from being drawn out of the King's coffers. Such was the form of this bankruptcy; more protracted, more costly, and more burdensome, without doubt, than that proposed at the beginning of the Regency.

Thus it was, that Lewis XV. approaching to majority, was beginning, under sinister auspices, a reign which was to terminate in a no less fatal manner. The difference indeed is, that at that time the misfortunes of the State could not be imputed to him. The Prince seemed rather to promise some happy dispositions, for his time of life. Though the delicacy of his constitution prevented his particular application to studies that require a certain degree of attention, yet in 1718 there appeared a book, entitled, *Course of the principal rivers in Europe* printed under his name, as if composed by him, of which fifty copies were worked off, and which the Courtiers eagerly disputed with each other. It is said, that M. De Lisle, his instructor in this branch, had given him a great deal of assistance. The pupil, however, must have had some share in it, to have given reason to adulators to flatter him upon this subject. In reality, M. de Voltaire observes, in his panegyric of him *, that this taste led the King to

E 2

some

* Above one million and a half sterling.

† Elogium of Lewis XV. pronounced at a meeting of the Academy, on the 5th of May 1774.

some knowledge in Astronomy, and Natural History. His external graces began also to unfold themselves, and when he was no more than ten years of age, he danced upon the theatre of the Tuilleries, with several young Noblemen of his Court, in the comedy of the *Inconnu*, where he was much admired.

He also shone in an exercise more worthy of himself. In order to reduce to practice the military lessons that were given to him, a camp was formed at two leagues from Versailles, where a fort was besieged, and a sham fight instituted. The Prince was infinitely delighted with it; he was not a meer spectator, but put himself at the head of the besiegers, and by the ardour he shewed, one would have imagined that he one day, would have become a warlike monarch.

At length he began to display an exterior of Majesty, in his audience of Mehemet Effendi, Ambassador from the Porte, which, at the same time, afforded a spectacle proper to amuse his infancy; and this was certainly the object of it, rather than that given out to the public; which was to assure the King, that, at his consideration, his Highness would take under his protection, the Friars of Jerusalem, and that he had given orders for the repairing of the monastery, and the church of the Holy Sepulchre. His Majesty was less stricken with these assurances, than with the pearls and jewels, which sparkled on every part of the Mussulman's dress.

It is well known that his judgment was always sound. He had entered into the Council of Regency since the year 1720, and had the prudence to keep silent. The year following, he spoke there for the first time. M. d'Armenonville had just been reading to him, a letter from the King of Spain, in which that Monarch acquiesced in the marriage of the Infanta his daughter with Lewis XV. The Regent then told his Majesty, that it was necessary he should explain himself. The King answered, that he gave his consent with pleasure, and that he was satisfied with the alliance proposed.

But

But without opening his lips, his silence was even then expressive. When his R. H. brought to the King the news of M. d'Aguesseau's second dismissal, and presented his successor to the Seals, his Majesty looking at them with a melancholy countenance, made them plainly perceive, that he was not pleased with the change.

His answer to the Regent, on the day of his majority, did not less furnish a proof of his aversion for severity, and could not but excite favourable impressions, of the goodness of his heart. His R. H. in resigning to him the reins of the government of his kingdom, which was in good order, and delivered from a contagious malady*, asked what orders it would please his Majesty to give respecting several particulars, and especially with regard to his subjects banished on account of Ecclesiastic affairs. His Majesty said, that *he had banished nobody.*

Nevertheless, the continuance of the same letters *de Cachet*, which proceeded with greater violence than ever, and lasted to the end of this reign, might induce us to think, that this was nothing more than simplicity.

He also discovered a great deal of sensibility upon occasion of the disgrace of the Marshal Duke de Villeroy, his Governor.

Six months before the majority of the King, the Regent had declared publicly, that it was time to inform his Majesty of the affairs, and secrets of State, and that he would take that care upon himself. He had even explained himself in private with the Governor, telling him, that he meant to study every morning with the young King. On the tenth of August, having desired his Majesty to go along with him into his closet, Marshal Villeroy endeavoured to accompany his Royal Pupil, saying, that he could not lose sight of so sacred a dépôt. The Prince was so much offended at

E 3

this

* A merchant ship arrived from Sydon to Marsailles, had brought the plague with it, in 1720. It occasioned great ravages during nearly two years. Lines had been established in different provinces to prevent the communication. These had just been removed at the end of 1722.

this mistrust, that he punished the Governor with exile, and substituted in his room the Duke de Charost, who was demanded by his Majesty, on the absence of the former.

This proceeding was the more bold, as Marshal Villeroi's conduct was authorized, by what had happened to his father. That Nobleman, in his time, had been Governor to Lewis XIV. Ann of Austria, then Regent of the kingdom, had one day something particular to communicate to the King, the old Marshal was going to withdraw, out of respect; when her Majesty said to him; *Stay, Sir, since I have intrusted you with the education of the King my son, there is no secret for you, and you ought never to lose sight of his person.* This affair was fully sufficient to give occasion to the renewal of those atrocious suspicions, so often rumoured in public, against his R. H. The precipitate, and voluntary retreat, of the former Bishop of Frejus, on the same day, seemed to involve him in these reports.

The King cried, and was so much vexed, that he broke the windows: he would neither eat nor sleep, when he found himself deprived of two persons to whom he was accustomed. This determined the Duke of Orleans not to give way to his resentment against the latter, whose flight, as it seemed to be, produced a still worse effect. He therefore ordered him, to return instantly, and resume his functions. The Bishop complied, and by that means, according to appearances, secured to himself the great situation, to which he was afterwards raised.

Since that time, the young Prince did not disclose any part of his character till at the ceremony of his coronation, the vain pomp of which we shall not describe. We shall only observe, as a circumstance till that time unknown in our history, that the six lay Peers of France, were represented by six Princes of the blood.

When the young King went to Rheims to be crowned, on the day of the ceremony, which is very long, they gave him in the morning, according to an antient custom, founded no doubt upon a permission from the
Pope,

Pope, some broth to take, though he was to receive the sacrament, and that the discipline of the church requires, one should be fasting for this purpose. He refused to take any, notwithstanding the intreaties that were made, and the example of his predecessors, which was mentioned to him. He said, he chose rather one should read in his history, that, he had refused to take any thing, before his approaching to the Holy Table. This stroke shewed how much he was, even then, more attached to the letter, than to the spirit of religion.

At the same coronation, when the crown had been placed on the head of his Majesty, he took it off, and laid it on the altar. It was represented to him, that he ought to wear it during the ceremony; he answered, that he had rather pay the homage of it to him, from whom he had received it. He was doubtless already impressed with that maxim, which he has since disapproved with so much severity, at the meeting of Parliament, on the third of March 1766: *that he held his crown only from God.*

The King, at his return from Rheims, made some stay at Villers-Coterets, where the Duke of Orleans gave him a superb entertainment. All his Majesty's train was treated in a splendid manner, as well as the multitude of curious people who flocked there, in great numbers. His R. H. carried his magnificence so far, as to cause those whom the castle could not contain, to be lodged and treated at his own expence in the inns.

The Duke of Bourbon enjoyed afterwards the same honour at Chantilly, where the festival, on account of the beauty of the situation had still a greater eclat. This gave occasion to some arch fellow to say, *that the river of Mississipi must necessarily have passed by there.*

It was at these festivals that Lewis XV. for the first time, partook of the diversion of hunting, for which he conceived so great a liking, that it afterwards became a passion, a fury, which age could not even abate.

The King having entered on his fourteenth year, the Duke of Orleans went in the morning to his levee, to pay his respects to him, and

16 Feb.

1723.

to ask him his orders, respecting the government of the State.

22 Feb. This ceremony was followed by another of greater eclat, the meeting of a Bed of Justice, in which his Majesty announced his majority, and said, he was come to his Parliament to declare, according to the law of the State, that he would henceforward take upon himself the government. Afterwards, the Duke of Orleans being present, he thanked him for his care; intreated him to continue it, and to assist him in the important administration of his kingdom. At the same time, his Majesty confirmed the Cardinal Dubois in the office of Prime Minister.

We have seen the beginning of this fortunate man's rise, which proceeded slowly, since it was only in 1716, that is, at sixty years of age, that he was made Counsellor of State. But when once he was got into the track of preferment, he lost not a single instant. In 1717, after having signed at the Hague, in quality of Ambassador Plenipotentiary, the treaty of the triple alliance, he was made public and private Secretary. In 1718, he concluded at London, the famous treaty for a general peace throughout Europe. At his return, he was intrusted with the department for foreign affairs. He was created Archbishop of Cambray in 1720. It was upon this occasion, as he was desiring the person who consecrated him, to make him previously pass through the orders of Priest, Deacon, Sub-Deacon, the four Minor Orders, and the Tonsure, the officiating Clergyman, tired out, exclaimed: *Must not you go through the ceremony of baptism likewise?* It is said at least, that *this was the first time he ever received the Sacrament.* Massillon was the person who was mean enough to consecrate him. When the latter came to ask his *licet* of the Cardinal de Noailles, his Eminence expressed his surprize, that a sacred orator, who had said such fine things, should submit to so infamous an act. Pope innocent XIII. placed the new Archbishop in the rank of Cardinals the year following; and he signified, that he had honoured that Prelate with the purple, not so much on account of his personal merit, however

however eminent that might be, as for the services he had rendered the Church, to the peace of which, he was one of those who had most contributed. We shall now give an account of what this pretended peace was.

Since the ambiguous letter of the Regent, upon the affairs of the times, which the Jansenists had at first considered as favourable to their party, though it appeared upon explanation, that the author had no design but to deceive them, they continued losing more and more of their credit with his R. H. That Prince, in order to restore the equilibrium, thought it necessary to favour the adverse party, and at last to bring about union and peace between the two. He charged the Archbishop of Cambray with this negotiation. The Archbishop's first care was to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the matter, which had before occupied the least of his thoughts. In consequence of this he held frequent conferences with the chiefs of both parties. The cardinals de Bissy and de Rohan were the principal supports of the *Constitution*. One of them, a man of wit and learning, intimately connected with the Jesuits, was, as well as the Bishop of Chartres, the most zealous promoter of the persecutions carried on by these Fathers against their adversaries. The other, of a most illustrious family, great Almoner of France and Bishop of Strasbourg, was possessed of that kind of genius which penetrates the most abstract truths, almost without study and without application. He spoke moreover with a precision, a clearness, and with graces which the Cardinal de Polignac could only have contested with him. The Cardinal de Noailles, of a very powerful family, and personally much beloved by the Parisians, was the only Prelate from whom the opponents really derived any consideration. It was reckoned that by drawing him from them they would be so much weakened, that they might be afterwards treated at pleasure, without apprehending any disagreeable consequences. But the difficulty was to detach him from them. He entertained a deep resentment of the injuries committed by the Jesuits. He

was besides very irresolute. In a word, as appellant and re-appellant, how could he get over such embarrassments? Nevertheless, the dexterity of the negotiator found out a salvo, in order not to shock the pride of his Eminence. He agreed to accede to the *Constitution*; but almost two years elapsed before he kept his word.

The Pope was the person most difficult, and yet most necessary to be managed. Author of the famous Bull *Unigenitus*, he was attached to his own work. He was sorry to see that it was not registered; his indignation was raised at the obstacles it experienced; he required a pure and simple acceptance of it, and would hear nothing about explanations. The Cardinal de la Tremoille was charged with the troublesome commission of negotiating with his Holiness, of which he acquitted himself as an able man, alternately encouraging and intimidating him. By this means he gained time, and prevented any great strokes from being given. Unfortunately he had a very bad state of health, which made it necessary to grant him some assistance. One would scarce imagine that a Jesuit was fixed upon for this purpose. Father Lafiteau had been sent to Rome to complete his studies in divinity, begun at Paris; or rather, this was only a pretext for his removal. His superiors had discovered in him that kind of understanding that is fit for intrigues, and they wished he should improve it in the center of politics. He made himself agreeable to the Holy Father; and this being known in France, it was thought proper to apply to this young favourite of his Holiness. He was flattered with the choice of the Court, and, his ambition furnished him with greater prospects of favour through this channel than by means of his Order, he consented to betray the interest of his society to please the Regent, at least to act a part which was by no means suitable to his gown; which excited the displeasure of the society against him, and obliged him to quit it for a Prelacy. He was made bishop of Sisteron.

Lafiteau came into France with schemes of pacification from Clement XI. and commissioned to make several

ral demands. In order to soften the Pope, regard was paid to some of them. Positive orders were given to the university to keep quiet, and to hold no more deliberations contrary to the *Constitution*. Some records of the Body of Divinity, containing certain conclusions which condemned the opinion of the infallibility of the Pope as heretical and erroneous, were erased; and the matter was concluded by composing, in concert with the principal appellants, a code of doctrine as a commentary to the Bull. The work was long, and it was not till after several examinations, changes, softening, and corrections, that it was completed; and still it was necessary to gain over the Jesuits, who ruled the Bishops. Luckily these Fathers were then divided into two factions, distinguished by the names of *bad* and *good intention*. Father L'Allemant, chief of the *well-intentioned*, declared himself for the code of doctrine, and was followed by all his adherents. Among the Prelates, M. Languet, Bishop of Soissons, since Archbishop of Sens, known by several writings which he had published upon the subject of the *Constitution*, under the title of instructions, had made himself a great reputation among the *Constituents*, and was become, as the Regent used to say, *a dog with a great collar*. It was a matter of consequence to gain him over. He was called up to Court, which he had never seen since he had taken the oaths of allegiance; he could not resist the caresses, and particularly the praises, of his R. H.; he gave himself up entirely to Court favour, and became the principal promoter and most zealous defender of the accommodation; most of the Prelates that were at Paris followed his example. The Abbé de la Fare Lopits was dispatched to get the signature of several absentees, at the recommendation of Father L'Allemant. It was then said, pleasantly enough, *that this Abbé was gone to teach the Bishops to draw*.

Some refused, such as Messieurs de Montpellier, de Boulogne, de Nîmes, de Saintes, who were banished to their dioceses. The Rectors of Paris made remonstrances against this accommodation, to their Archbishop, and used the same terms which he himself had
 formerly

formerly employed. The Sorbonne, notwithstanding the prohibition to deliberate, protested against all that might be done. These obstacles contributed not a little to retard the mandate of acceptance from the Cardinal de Noailles, which was promised, and did not appear. He required the previous acquiescence of the Magistrature. In order to satisfy him, a declaration from the King was made out, which ordered the performance and observation of the constitution *Unigenitus*; and forbade speaking, writing, supporting, or divulging any thing against it, and even appealing to a future Council; and commanded besides, the execution of the ordinances of the kingdom, relative to ecclesiastical policy; and particularly of the edict concerning the signature of the formulary: it declared, that the cognizance and judging of the doctrine belonged to the Bishops, and enjoined the Parliaments, and other Judges, to maintain them in this privilege, and give them all the assistance they might stand in need of.

The Parliament of Paris refusing to register the declaration, and apprehensions arising lest others should follow their example; it was directed to the Parliament of Douay; whose concurrence had already been secured: that Court made no hesitation. The Cardinal was summoned to make his decree, who still avoided it, under pretence that a register solicited in such a manner, was in itself not valid, and could not but produce a bad effect on the minds of the people. They were determined to push his Eminence to extremities. They again tampered with the Parliament of Paris, at that time in exile at Pontoise, who, far from being more tractable on that account, were, on the contrary, not contented with again rejecting the declaration, but admitted the petitions of the appellants in opposition.

His R. H. and the Cardinal Dubois, enraged at this resistance, had recourse to the Great Council, with whom they were forced to use a great deal of management, insinuation, and threats. The Regent was obliged to attend there in person, to require the attendance of the Princes of the blood, the Dukes, the Peers, and Noblemen, and to strike an awe into the Assembly, by the form of a ceremonial to which it was not accustomed.

tomed. The declaration was registered on the 23d of September, 1720; and that Court was rewarded, by having the right conferred upon them of judging all the disputes respecting the *Constitution*, that might fall within the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Paris.

The Cardinal de Noailles was not satisfied with this manœuvre, and declared that his mandate should certainly not appear, till after the registering of the Bull in the Parliament of Paris. A resolution was then taken to make use of some means, if not rigorous, at least mortifying to the Prelate and the Parliament, who seemed to act in concert, for the purpose of thwarting the designs of Government. A new Council of Conscience was formed, in which the Cardinal did not preside, and had not even a seat; and, to supply the place of the Parliament, they created at Paris a Chamber of Vacation, composed of the Members of the Council; and, as if this step was not sufficiently humiliating, they were threatened with a more severe blow, the removal to Blois, which we have mentioned before. This expedient succeeded, they agreed to whatever was required of them, and, for form sake, were allowed to apply some modifications, under pretence of preventing the declarations from affecting the liberties of the Gallican church, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom. The Archbishop of Paris, on his side in some manner to make a merit of his complaisance to the Court, published his mandate as soon as he was assured of the resolutions of the Company, by whose concurrence he was to be determined.

Though this step of the Chief of the Opposants was not very efficacious towards uniting them, yet the Court was partly satisfied, in being thus authorised to prosecute them as a species of heretics, at least disturbers of the peace of the church; and above all, to give them to understand, that the time of accommodation was passed, that they were no longer of any consideration, and that they might return into the common rank of subjects, from whom passive obedience is required. Here the Abbé Dubois displayed his activity and address. He caused the appeal of the four Bishops to be condemn-
ed,

ed, and declared scandalous, by a decree of Council. He caused a circular letter from the King, to be written to all the Chapters, to annul their acts of appeal. He charged the Superiors of the Ecclesiastic Communities, to watch over their inferiors, to keep them within proper bounds, and to prevent their giving scandal to the public, under the penalty of answering for them in their own names. He himself narrowly watched the Benedictines, and the Priests of the Oratory. He recalled the members that were persecuted on account of their attachment to the Bull, and on the contrary, made use of Letters *de Cachet* against those who were most refractory. He made no less free with the body of Divines of Paris, and of the University; and, the Professor Rollin having, in quality of Rector, made an oration, not very consistent with the views of the Ministry, he removed him from his dignity.

This was, without doubt, more than sufficient to procure the purple for the Archbishop of Cambray. He obtained at the same time the abbey of Cercamp, and the superintendence of the ports, to support his new dignity, and was soon after admitted into the Council. The Cardinals have always claimed a right of sitting next to the Princes of the Blood, before all the other members, and even before the Chancellor. The Cardinal of Rohan had lately set the example, which gave rise to much stronger representations and complaints, on the pretensions of Cardinal Dubois, which were not equally authorised by his birth. The protestors went so far, as to absent themselves from Council that day; and the Cardinal de Noailles, who did not love his new associate, for having led him into that false step, which he regretted, paid him this compliment as they were going out: *This day, Sir, will be famous in history; people will not forget to mention that your entrance in Council has made all the great persons of the kingdom desert it.*

The Duke of Orleans and his favourite would not have been sorry for the retreat of some of these Gentlemen, but their unanimity on this occasion chagrined them. It was in vain that they proposed some arrangements;

rangements; no body would listen to them. The dreadful point of etiquette must surely be of an importance that is not to be comprehended by the common sort, since the gravest men, and those who are most formed to act upon principles, bow down before it, and sacrifice every thing to it. Hence it was that the Marshal Duke de Villeroi, who soon after got himself exiled, and his post of Governor to the King taken from him, because he would not leave his Majesty alone with the Regent, who came to talk with him about affairs of State, did not scruple on this occasion to neglect his duty, and abandon that sacred charge in the Council, rather than sit below the Cardinals.

Hence it was, that the Chancellor—after having signed every thing that was required of him, against the Parliament, to whom he owed his fortune, and against his conscience, which dictated the contrary to him, for fear of returning again to Fresne—chose, notwithstanding, to go there upon this occasion, sooner than degrade himself by giving up the pretended rights of his dignity.

The Parisians, and more especially the Jansenists, did not look upon this step in the same light; they thought it very patriotic. This disgrace appeared to them a glorious one; and Ministry did not shew less regard for the Head of the Magistracy. The Cardinal de Bissy, when he went to pass the Easter holidays at his Bishopric of Meaux, thought it right to ask Cardinal Dubois, whether his R. H. would be offended, if he paid the Chancellor a visit. *Very far from it,* replied the latter; *his R. H. will be very well pleased with it; and if I were less engaged in business myself, I should be happy to accompany you to Fresne.*

They did not talk so seriously at the *Palais Royal*;—they made a jest of it. At one of those choice suppers, where the Prince's favourites were admitted, and were allowed to say all the lively things that came into their heads, even upon the most serious matters, when they were talking about this event, one Lord, after having lamented the vicissitude of human greatness,

ness, on account of these seals, so much envied, passing so often from the Chancellor to the lowest Lawyer, and returning to him soon after, exclaimed, *that the office of Tipstaff was a thousand times better*; that Messrs. Pontchartrain, Voisin, d'Aguesseau, and d'Argenson, had all of them had the same person serving them in that office, who was still continued to M. d'Argenson's successor; and that, for his part, if he were to run through the course of Magistracy, he would stop at that post. The Regent laughed, and did not fail to enlarge upon this criticism.

The Seals were given to M. d'Armenonville, a man of a gentle and complying character, from whom they had no apprehensions of any trouble on this subject. He made no difficulty of taking his seat in Council below the Cardinals. As to the Dukes, Peers, and Marshals of France, their presence could be dispensed with; they were all forbidden to appear there, and were at the same time stricken off the list of pensions.

The old Marshal Villeroi, who was harsh in his disposition, and but little of a Courtier, expressed himself in a very indiscreet manner, on the expulsion of the Chancellor, and said, that if he should be still alive, at the King's majority, he would take the liberty of representing this injustice to his Majesty. When the new Keeper of the Seals came to pay his respects to him, he answered him publicly, *I do not congratulate you; for I am persuaded that you must be sorry to take the place of such a man as M. d'Aguesseau.*

This did not contribute a little to sharpen the Regent against him, who embraced the opportunity to get rid of this severe and troublesome censor.

The people in general were not very well pleased with the choice of M. d'Armenonville: they had no great idea of his capacity; but this was what the Duke of Orleans and his favourite had the least occasion for. They only required persons who were tractable; and were both of them sufficiently sensible and enlightened, to supply the defects of those who did business under them. Besides, it was his R. H.'s project, to appoint Cardinal Dubois Prime Minister, of which post he already
ready

ready had all the power ; but he wished first to make him popular abroad, as well as at home. For instance, the proposed marriage of the Infanta with the King, had obtained him the good-will and approbation of his Catholic Majesty ; who, in return, asked Mademoiselle de Monpensier, daughter to the Regent, for the Prince of Asturias.

The negotiation of this double marriage, had been managed by the Jesuit d'Aubenton, Confessor to the King of Spain ; who, by way of recompense, had required, that his society should be restored at Court to the functions of Confessor to the King. Accordingly, when the Abbé de Fleury desired to be discharged from that employment, he was replaced by Father de Linieres. This Linieres had been for some years Confessor to *Madame*, to whom he had been recommended by Father la Chaise. His quiet character, and confined genius, were, in all probability, the motives which determined this choice. By this means, both the Courts of Madrid, and of Rome, were gratified, without any risque of consequence, from such an appointment ; and the Jansenist party, ever restless, notwithstanding all the conciliating measures employed to pacify them, were mortified at the same time. They looked upon this stroke, as the most oppressive that could be given to them ; and the Cardinal de Noailles, in particular, vented his spleen upon the occasion, in the most extravagant manner.

Father Linieres came, as it was his duty, to pay his respects to his Eminence, and to ask him for his licence : “ *You come for your licence, Father,*” cried the Cardinal, the moment he came in his sight ; “ I cannot give you one ; and I am very glad to notify to you, in person, that I forbid you to confess the King. I could assign many reasons for my refusal, but I have at present got too bad a cold.”

Madame la Marechalle de Noailles, his sister-in-law, *who had not got a cold*, then took up the conversation, and said to the poor Jesuit all the harsh things an enraged woman is capable of saying. The Prelate persisted in his refusal, even to the Regent, and the King,

King, and explained his motives in a letter, in which he endeavoured to prove, that his conscience would not allow him to let a disciple of St. Ignatius take charge of the conscience of the King; and yet, by a contradiction very common among all people who are guided by the spirit of party, he suffered, at the same time, the Duke of Orleans, and *Madame*, to have Jesuits for their Confessors. Father Linieres, therefore was obliged to take up his residence at Pontoise, which was in the district of the archbishopric of Rouen, and the young Monarch repaired to St. Cyr, in the diocese of the bishopric of Chartres, and here the Jesuit administered the sacrament of penitence to him. A brief was soon obtained from the Pope, to permit the King to chuse a Confessor, approved of by the Ordinary, and which declared that his Majesty was not within the jurisdiction of any particular diocese. As soon as his Eminence saw that he was no longer of any importance, he agreed to every thing that was required of him.

It must be owned, that the placing of this Jesuit at Court displeased a great number of people, even those who were not Jansenists. The Princess of Conti, the first Dowager, received him very ill. The Abbess of Chelles, after having listened to his tedious compliment, answered him, "Father, since it was necessary that the King should have a Confessor of your order, I like you as well as any other in that post; but I cannot avoid telling you, that I am sorry to see a Jesuit there; for you cannot but know, that I have no predilection for your society; though I confess myself to be a little afraid of them: so that you see I am a true Frenchwoman."

The Jesuits, thus triumphant, could not however carry one point, of which they were at least as jealous, as of the place of King's Confessor. This was the nomination to benefices; without which, that post was merely honorary, like that of a Chancellor without the Seals. In vain did they enter into private negotiations for this purpose with the Spanish Monarch, under pretence that the party of the Appellants, notwithstanding

withstanding every thing that had been done to humble them, was still extremely powerful; that the principal method of destroying them, was to prevent turbulent, or suspected Ecclesiastics, from being promoted to livings; that this attention required as much knowledge of the persons, as zeal in the cause; that no man whatsoever possessed the former, equally with a Jesuit, by his correspondence with the different branches of his order, diffused all over the kingdom; and as for the latter, the society had given so many, and such striking proofs of it, that it would not be called in question.

The secret practices of the Jesuits were powerfully seconded by the Nuncio; but the Regent and Cardinal Dubois had no reason to acquiesce in such exorbitant pretensions; their object was to deprive the Jansenists of the power of being troublesome, but not to crush them, or to destroy the equilibrium, by giving too much weight to their enemies. It was in these circumstances, that his R. H. to give more force to his resolutions, thought proper to 22 *August*. declare Cardinal Dubois Prime Minister.

Among the compliments his Eminence received upon this occasion, that of the Abbé Dubois, his brother, Canon of St. Honorè, was much taken notice of. He wrote to him, "that the new dignity to which he was raised, obliged him to redouble his prayers to God, that he might give him the grace to make no use of the power the King had just intrusted him with, but for the good of the State, and of Religion."

The most curious anecdote respecting this promotion, the most proper to furnish reflections to a philosophic reader, and to give an insight into the characters of the favourite, and of his master, was a circumstance passed at another supper of the Regent's. The company were indulging themselves in jests upon the new Prime Minister; one of the most bitter kind fell from the Count de Noce: *Your R. H. said he to him, may make what you please of him, but you will never make him an honest man.* He was banished the next day. In vain did the Countess du Tort reproach the Regent

Regent with his weakness; the letter *de cachet* was not recalled; and it was not till after the death of the Cardinal, that the Duke of Orleans wrote to the Count to return. His note was no less singular than the rest of this business: *With the beast, dies the venom. I expect you to-night to supper at the Palais-Royal.*

Peace being established by solid treaties and advantageous alliances, the Parliament overcome and humbled, the Nobles reduced to submission, and those who were capable of giving disturbance removed, the new Prime Minister was left at liberty to apply himself entirely to the settlement of the finances, and to the affairs of religion.

He began by re-establishing the annual tax, originally known by the name of *Paulette*, the author of it; by that of the comptroll and registering of the acts of notaries. These duties have been found so useful, and of so much produce, that they have been continued ever since. The Parliament attempted to make some opposition to the registering of the edict, but they found themselves attacked in a more sensible part than they had ever been before. There was no talk of banishing, or transferring them to another situation. They were threatened with the diminution of their powers; they felt that this stroke of authority, which was favourable to the people, could not but be approved of and durable: they entered therefore into a negotiation with the Court; a shameful accommodation was the consequence on both sides, and the public good was sacrificed. In the same manner this plan, after having been carried into execution by M. de Maupeou, the only good perhaps that he did during his administration, has since been destroyed by a collusion no less disgraceful, upon the re-establishment of the magistracy.

Cardinal Dubois brought also a considerable sum of money into the King's coffers, by more ingenious and less odious means. He laid a tax on those persons who had made fortunes at the time of the system, under the name of poll-tax extraordinary; and at the same time paid a compliment to their vanity, by leaving

ing them in some respect the honour of this contribution, as voluntary and patriotic, particularly in exempting them from those tremendous forms which were in use with the *Chambres ardentes*, and which were more calculated to enrich the Commissioners than the King. In a word, he caused a multitude of decrees to be made, all tending to consolidate the operations of the *visa*, to annihilate the paper currency, and, if possible, to root out even the remembrance of it. This last stroke of despotism was one of those violent remedies which are not to be reconciled with distributive justice, but are often productive of political good.

With regard to religion, his Eminence continued to declare strongly against Appeals and Appellants, and to make use of Letters *de Cachet* against the bodies and communities that were inclined to give disturbance; he dismissed from their offices those who did not conduct themselves in them so submissively as was required; and, in order to establish the greater influence over all the members of the Clerical body, secular as well as regular, he again put in force the formulary invented in the reign of Lewis XIV. the signing of which had been neglected since his death. Even all the candidates for orders, for degrees in the universities, or who meant to enter into religious houses, were obliged to take this kind of oath.

In adhering to this formulary, it was declared that the five propositions of Janfenius were to be condemned; and as this vague condemnation had given rise to refinements without end, invented by those who wished to accommodate their conscience to their ambition, all opening for equivocation or restriction was taken away, by condemnation both *de jure* and *de facto*, and by adding to the formulary, that the five propositions were condemned with regard to the sense in which Janfenius considered them. The Jesuits only were dispensed from signing an act, of which they were the authors. The Regent had it so much at heart, that he strongly pressed the Abbess of Chelles to sign it, and upon her refusal, might perhaps have employed

employed rigorous means against her, though she was his own daughter, if the Dutchess of Orleans had not interposed. His R. H. and his favourite nevertheless continued firm in opposing all the solicitations 1723. of his Catholic Majesty, and of the Pope, and in refusing constantly to restore to the Jesuits the list of benefices so much desired; that talisman, by which the Fathers la Chaise and le Tellier had so considerably increased the power of their order.

The Prime Minister did not neglect, in the mean time, to restore harmony between the Princes, and the several societies, with respect to the contested points which remained undecided till the King's majority. It was not long since the Duke of Orleans appeared to have renewed his friendship for the Duke du Maine; the Dutchess was not in the same disposition. That Princess, after she was set at liberty, would have entered into an explanation with his R. H. but he interrupted her with these words, *Madam, every thing is forgotten, therefore I beg we may speak no more about it.* She had preserved a profound resentment, that she could not dissemble; but it had no effect. The Duke of Orleans thought proper to set some limits to his resentment against her husband; he made the Prime Minister draw out a declaration, wherein the King determined the rank and the honours which he meant the legitimated Princes should enjoy for the future, and granted them a seat, and a deliberative voice after the Princes of the blood, and before the Dukes and Peers, reserving nevertheless an exclusive right to the first, of passing along the floor preceded by several Ushers. They were to have, as well as these, the salute of the cap, with this exception, that the First president, addressing himself to the Princes of the blood, and pulling off his cap, says, *Sir, your opinion*—and that to the others he was to add, *My Lord Duke du Maine, your opinion—My Lord Count of Toulouse, your opinion*; calling them by their respective titles, in the same manner as the Dukes and Peers. Further, the legitimated Princes were to receive at Court the same distinctions

as the others, except at great festivals, entertainments, or public ceremonies, when they were not to sit, nor to be placed in the same row. With regard to the Prince of Dombes and Count d'Eu, the King granted to them, during their life only, the same rank as to Messrs. de Vendome.

This formulary of etiquette requires several explanations.

1st. The floor is that plain surface which is comprehended within the enclosure that is occupied by those who vote in Parliament, at a Bed of Justice, or otherwise: this space is always empty, and formerly nobody was allowed to cross it diagonally to get to their seat; but were obliged to go round. The great Condé walking in pain on account of his gout, broke through this custom, in order to shorten the distance; the other Princes soon followed his example, and it became a privilege for all of them.

2d. With regard to the salute of the cap, it must be remembered, that at the first sitting of the Duke of Orleans in Parliament, after the death of Lewis XIV. the Dukes and Peers set on foot that contest, and pretended a right to the salute; but it was decided that they should wait for the King's majority, that he might pronounce upon a point of that nature; which was determined in their favour, with the distinction above mentioned.

3d. The Princes of the house of Vendome, natural descendants of Henry IV. ranked above all the Dukes and Peers; and this was the honour that the Count of Toulouse's children were to enjoy; but their descendants were to have none, except what they were intitled to from their rank in the Parliamentary list of Peers.

These arrangements mortified the legitimated Princes exceedingly, and they have ever since absented themselves from public ceremonies.

The honours which were accumulating on the head of Cardinal Dubois could not preserve him from the unfortunate end with which he was threatened. He had the additional honour of presiding in the assembly
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of the Clergy, which had not been convoked since the year 1715; and which, far from expressing their indignation, at seeing so corrupted a member at their head, made advances to him, and solicited that favour. After having prevailed on them to grant the King a gratuity of eight millions *, he had likewise the art of keeping them within bounds upon matters of religion, at such a dangerous crisis, and of breaking up the assembly two months afterwards, without any discussion of that nature, at least in public.

The only two acts of that assembly which mark its complexion, were the taking away a pension of eight hundred livres † from Father Alexander, a Dominican, and a celebrated Jansenist, in order to give it to a certain Jesuit of the name of Longueval, author of a very indifferent *History of the Gallican Church*, and the granting a pension of a hundred crowns ‡ to a cobbler of the parish of St. Sulpice, who was said to be one of the most zealous partizans of the Bull, and to whom the making of a great number of converts was attributed. The appellants revenged themselves by a print, in which this cobbler, whose name was Nutelet, was represented patching together the torn pieces of the *Constitution*. The Cardinal de Bissy, and the Curate of St. Sulpice, were each of them presenting to him a purse full of money, to quicken his zeal and activity; this last stroke undoubtedly deserved to be ridiculed.

The Assembly however thought it necessary, before their dissolution, to lay their sentiments in a more ostensible manner before their Sovereign, and to repose their sorrows in his breast. They presented to him, at their audience of leave, a long memorial against the Appellants and the Parliament. In this the Prelates asked permission to bring the former to their trial, and accused the latter of being too ready to favour the appeals, which they considered as an abuse. They were told, that they must submit to the King's declaration, which

* Upwards of three hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds sterling.

† Upwards of thirty-three pounds sterling.

‡ Twelve pounds ten shillings sterling.

which enjoined silence, and that justice must be left to take its course; and in order to avoid further disturbances, they were requested to retire to their dioceses, where their presence must be of more use than at Paris.

By this means they escaped the uneasiness of being witnesses to the death of the great Prelate, who had presided over them. He had been for a long time tormented with a disorder in the bladder, which was looked upon as the consequence of his incontinency and excessive debaucheries. It was 1723. found necessary to have recourse to a cruel amputation, of so alarming a nature, that the preparation got the better of his intrepidity. He was at length induced to submit to it, by the persuasion of the Duke of Orleans, but died the next day, aged about sixty-six.

10 Aug.

A day or two before his death, the Cardinal had confessed himself to a Recollet Monk, and this ceremony had not lasted more than half a quarter of an hour at most; which made the people judge, that he only meant to comply with forms, to give this last proof of obedience to his master: the Duke of Orleans having represented to him, that it was necessary for both their credits, that he should preserve appearances. A proof of the little value he set upon spiritual assistance, is, that he did not receive the Extreme Unction, on account of the ceremonial that is to be observed in administering it to a cardinal; or, if the reader pleases, it shall be considered as another proof of the importance of that etiquette for which a Prince of the church would even risque his salvation. The last unequivocal sentiment which he manifested, was his unabated attachment to the house of Orleans. Whatever cause he had to regret life, he protested that he would have quitted it with pleasure, if he could have completed the destruction (such was his expression) of the enemies of his R. H.

¶ We have already gone through the different steps by which Cardinal Dubois rose to the highest honours in church and state. He was ambitious also of those

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that

that are to be obtained by literary talents, and became a member of the French Academy. It was there that Fontenelle, whose place it was as Director to answer him, was heard to say, in addressing him upon his nomination to the Cardinalship, solicited by several Potentates, *that he appeared to be a Prelate of all the Catholic States, and a Minister of all Courts.* And at another time: *You remember, that my wishes called you to this place, before you were able to bring so many titles to it; no one knew better than myself that you would bring with you those which we prefer to all others.*

This Minister, who followed in every thing the steps of Cardinal Mazarin, did not neglect the care of his fortune, and might have amassed as much wealth as he did, if he had had time enough. He left 2,000,000 livres *, in ready money to his heirs. It is not known, whether it was the same kind of scruple that suggested to him the design of making the Regent his residuary legatee; but that Prince would not suffer it; he accepted only the gold plate, which the Cardinal had caused to be made for entertainments of ceremony.

He was honoured with a magnificent funeral, and even a medal was struck to his memory. On one side was his head, on the other, a tree blown down by a storm, with this motto: *visa est dum stetit minor.* The licence of the age gave him a coarse epitaph †, which was very different, and he deserved them both. It is certain, that if we only consider the means by which he raised himself, he was a despicable and infamous man. If we consider the talents he discovered in that situation, he was a true statesman. The Regent found no one capable of succeeding him, but himself, which puts the finishing stroke to his political character.

The

* Above eighty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds.

† Rome rougit, d'avoir rougi
Le Maquereau qui gît ici.

Rome's cheeks with conscious blushes purpled were,
For purpleing the Pimp, that's bury'd here.

The most material event, of the remaining part of this great Prince's administration, was the suppressing* the company of Ostend, established by the Emperor, and which greatly offended the maritime Powers, who exclaimed against this infraction of the treaties of commerce, and opposed it on all sides. It would have set Europe in a flame, and caused a general war, had it not been for the prudence, and firmness of the Duke of Orleans. Soon after Charles VI. convinced that he had engaged himself in an enterprise which was above his strength, abandoned this design, and, after a few negotiations to shelter his honour, sacrificed his hopes for the sake of peace.

The Duke of Orleans was equally indefatigable in settling the interior state of the kingdom; he followed in all things the principles of his favourite, who in all probability had derived them from his R. H. He shewed the greatest firmness in affairs concerning religion; which he carried to such a length, as to order his daughter, the Abbess of Chelles, for whom his excessive fondness was known, to dismiss from her family two Benedictines, who were excluded by letters of *Cachet* from holding any office, and who had taken refuge with her. He did not suffer the Parliament to interfere in the matter of the affairs of the *Constitution*, or to take cognizance of the causes of certain *Appellants* and *Re-appellants*. In a word, he took care to nominate none but *Constituents* to livings and bishoprics, in order to establish uniformity of doctrine. He took pains to annihilate the Bank bills, the multitude of which had been so immense, that, notwithstanding all the openings made for the circulation of them, there remained still a great quantity of them in hand. He succeeded so far as to see the paper entirely suppressed before his death.

The India Company was every day becoming of more importance. This great Prince foresaw of what utility to the State it might be to form a coalition. He

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gave

* That is to say, its suspension; for the entire suppression of it did not take place till several years afterwards, as will be seen.

gave his whole attention to this point; and, being convinced of the fault he had committed, as well as Cardinal Dubois, in trusting strangers with the administration of it, he repaired it by a new regulation, according to which the Directors and Syndics were to be chosen out of the members of the Company. He was pleased to be present at the first meeting, holden for the purpose of electing them. Among the number of proprietors were, the Dukes de la Force and de Chaulnes, the Marshal d'Etrees, the Marquisses de Bully, and de Laffay, &c. His R. H. endeavoured by this means to reconcile the Nobility to commerce, and insensibly to destroy the established prejudice in France, which rendered these two conditions incompatible. He confirmed to the Company, at this meeting, the exclusive privilege of selling tobacco and coffee: and the account was then prepared, which was settled on the twentieth of November following, amounting to two thousand seven hundred millions *, by which they found themselves clear with the King.

Since the catastrophe of Law's system, the Farms General had been under management. They were leased out in the month of October, to a chosen body of the highest bidders †, who engaged to pay the King annually 55 millions ‡; these are the leases which at present are raised to more than 160 millions §.

This was the last Ministerial operation of the Regent. That Prince, though of a very strong constitution, could not maintain his health with the excessive fatigues he went through, especially since the death of Cardinal Dubois: he wanted a second self to assist him, and that he had just lost. All the persons then Ministers, were
men

* Upwards of a hundred and twelve millions sterling.

† It is since this period, that the Farmers General have acquired great weight, are become persons of consequence in the kingdom, and have at length been looked upon as "the Pillars of the State." The reader will not be sorry to see a printed list, and anecdotes of these Matadores of finance, from 1720 to this time. As it is too long to be inserted here, we reserve it for the Appendix, No. V.

‡ Upwards of two millions sterling.

§ Between six and seven millions sterling.

men of inferior talents, whom his R. H. was constantly obliged to guide and instruct. The Keeper of the Seals was no more than a puppet, whose appearance was necessary, but who was incapable of taking any resolution, of proposing any opinion, or of pursuing any; and equally unable to conduct himself in that situation, which, besides an implicit submission to the orders of the Court, requires rigid firmness in enforcing the execution of them with respect to the Parliament, and the Clergy. The Count de Morville, his son, who had passed from the Marine department to that of foreign affairs, though he had a much better understanding, was not sufficiently acquainted with the train of Ministerial business, to unravel the different parts of it, to direct them without confusion; and to manage them with that dexterity which the times required. The Comptroller General Dodun, taken from Parliament, in hopes of inducing that Company more readily to adopt the plans he might propose, was on that very account more ignorant of finance; and ought to have prevented the Government from committing the same fault a second time. As for M. de Breteuil, the Secretary of State for the war department, he was found to be very fit for that employment in the time of peace. The Count de Saint Florentin, and the Count de Maurepas, were at this time very young, and were but just entered into their departments. All the weight of affairs fell consequently on the Duke of Orleans. He had, however, found one person who suited him; this was the second son of the late Keeper of the Seals, since known by the name of Count d'Argenson: he had tried him in the post of Lieutenant of Police, and was convinced of his capacity and attachment; he had just made him his Chancellor, and Keeper of the Seals, President of his Council, and Superintendant of his household and revenues. When he made his choice known, he had applauded himself for it, by saying, *It will not be said, that my Chancellor wants either sense or birth.* His intention was to appoint him Comptroller General of finance, but he had not time.

On the 6th of December, after giving audience, on going to his closet, he met the Dutcheis de Phalaris, his mistress, and said to her: *Come in, I am very glad to see you; you will divert me with your stories; I have a violent pain in my head.* They were scarcely alone before he fainted away, and remained without sense or motion. The Lady was alarmed, and called for assistance; none was effectual; he expired in her arms, which gave occasion to a foreign news-paper maliciously to say, *that the Duke of Orleans died, assisted by his Confessor in ordinary.*

Such was the end of this Prince, whose Regency will be ever memorable, for being big with all possible seeds of trouble, and with commotions, which unfortunately are of too luxuriant a growth in minorities, ever subject to tumult and agitation: he checked and stifled them, by the meer strength of his genius: he restored to the Parliament the right of examination and remonstrance; but while he suffered them to regain their former lustre, he reserved to himself the means of keeping them within bounds, and of preventing their making a bad use of that dangerous liberty.

If he were not able entirely to appease the fermentation occasioned by the famous Bull, he prevented the disputes about religion from having the same fatal effects they had had in former centuries; he reduced them to appeals, mandates, at most, to some storms of spiritual thunder; impotent thunder, almost as soon extinguished as lighted*. He curbed the excessive ambition of the legitimated Princes, and acknowledged authentically the nation's right: in this manner he put a stop to a dissension, which had arisen among the Royal Family; but in acquiescing in fact with the pretensions of the Princes, and even of the Nobility, he did not relax from the authority, which had been intrusted to him, and repressed with equal severity the steps of the several bodies, which tended to bring questions

* This relates to the Apostolical letters of the Pope, which denounced excommunication against those who did not observe an entire obedience to the Constitution. These letters had no kind effect, and were condemned by the Parliament.

questions of too delicate a nature in agitation. He resisted the violent storm that Spain was raising against him, and, by the boldness of his politics, and of his measures, not only disconcerted the manœuvres of that Power; but instead of a war, which threatened to be bloody, long, and to degenerate into a civil war, he made a solid and glorious peace, cemented between the two Crowns a friendship, which had been rather suspended than violated, and at last placed his two daughters upon a throne*. If the art with which he conducted this negotiation is to be admired, what shall we say of his dexterity in securing England and Holland? At the death of Lewis XIV. the kingdom remained without allies; the same sentiments of hatred, jealousy, and fear, which had united all Europe against the late King, still continued; at London, they were prosecuting the authors of the late peace, which had been the salvation of France, and their High Mightinesses had not forgotten the humiliations they had received, and the dreadful situation they were once in, when they had no other choice, than the being a prey to a haughty conqueror, or burying themselves in the sea. It was to be feared, that these natural enemies, not well reconciled with France, in their indignation for having been made the dupes of the intrigues of that Court, would avail themselves of the favourable circumstance of a minority, to deprive them of the power of doing any mischief for the future. At this critical juncture the Regent conceived, and executed the bold project of forming an alliance with them both, in opposition to Spain, the Power he was personally most afraid of. We will not inquire whether his own particular interest had not more share in producing this manœuvre, than the public good; but that the measure was advantageous to

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* Mademoiselle de Montpensier, married to the Prince of Asturias, since King of Spain, and Mademoiselle Beaujolois, whose contract of marriage with the Infant Don Carlos, soon after Sovereign in Italy, had been signed the 26th November 1722. She set out from France on the 1st of December, to go to Spain, from whence she returned in 1725, without the marriage having taken place.

the public is certain, and it is but justice that history should acknowledge it.

The deplorable situation of the finances was another cause of discontent, which required a remedy. The Regent certainly employed for this purpose a violent method, all the danger of which he had not foreseen. At length he also surmounted this difficulty, and made it turn to the advantage of the body politic, which afterwards acquired a more strong and healthy constitution from it.

An Administration of eight years, so stormy, and yet so constantly successful in all its parts, is undoubtedly the true touchstone of distinguished merit, and the Regent will certainly always be ranked among the greatest men who have governed France.

This Prince was likewise possessed of a spirit of detail, which does not always accompany genius, which often stifles it, or which genius despises. The first sixteen months of the Regency present us with the model of a prudent, equitable, and pacific government, similar to the succeeding administration of Cardinal Fleuri. The Regent suppressed a number of superfluous taxes and charges, burdensome to the people; and the troops were reduced to numbers proportioned to the want of them. He adopted M. de Vauban's scheme concerning the land-tax, and made experiments for establishing a revenue of the crown, which the subjects might voluntarily pay, and which might enter the royal treasury undiminished. The repopulation of the provinces, the culture of the lands, the restoration of commerce, and the flourishing of the arts, were all objects which likewise engaged his attention; but, as there is no perfection in this world, he has been reproached with two vices of consequence in government, which have given occasion to numberless satires, with which his administration hath been branded. The first is, that he derogated from that maxim, that the word of Kings ought to be sacred; a maxim which Lewis XIV. had never lost sight of, in the greatest calamities of his reign: and that he had adopted as a principle of government, the fraudulent conduct of those faith-
less

less merchants, who, abusing the credulous confidence of their creditors, get rid of them by shameful methods, that ought to lead them to punishment, and enrich themselves only by dint of bankruptcies.

The second, is that corruption of manners, of which he seemed to make a kind of parade, and the description of which, unfortunately too faithful, notwithstanding all the embellishments of poetry, is to be found in those celebrated *Philippics*, that are a satire, less delicate indeed, but more energetic, than those of *Petronius*; a true and rapid description of the manners of the Regent's Court, so much the more precious to posterity, as there is no allegorical veil to conceal the persons from it*.

It is there seen, that incest was a mere sport to him. In fact, if his love for the Abbess de Chelles, his daughter, is not thoroughly confirmed, it is difficult to deny his having been smitten with the charms of the Dutches of Berri, whose hands, which were the most beautiful that a woman can possibly have, had particularly enchanted him†. He deplored her death rather as a lover in despair than as an afflicted father.

If malice, indeed, in the terrible portraits it has drawn of this Prince in a hundred libels, had forgotten any features, the epitaph made on the mother of his

F 5

R. H.

* This is what induces us to preserve this piece belonging to history, and which hath never yet been printed. We shall join it to the other pieces in the Appendix, N° VI.

† The curious preserve a caricature invented on this occasion, the singularity of which requires a description. It is in the stile of those picturesque rebuffs, with which the Jesuits amused their scholars at certain times of the year. The Regent was represented in it wantoning with his daughter, and particularly kissing her divine hands, which the Princess puts before his eyes, and prevents him from seeing what is passing. In the mean time the Count de Riom is placed behind her Royal Highness, in the most dissolute attitude. In a distant corner of the room, and in the shade, the Abbé Dubois is seen, who observes all that passes, and smiles. Underneath are these words in Latin: "*Regens stultus, Abbas ridet, rideamus quoque.*" The sense in French, if it does not present a just idea to the eyes, from the fault in orthography, presents at least to the imagination, the proper explanation of this scene. Every body knows that the Count de Riom, the Princess's lover, passed afterwards for her husband.

R. H. designed less to bear upon that Princess than upon her son, would complete them all: *Here lies idleness.*

Whatever may have been the intention of the law, which has declared the Kings of France of age at thirteen years complete, it has been unable to force nature, and to bring their reason to maturity sooner than that of other men. The Monarch, therefore, the most prudent at this age, is the one who suffers himself to be governed with docility. Such a one was Lewis XV. Since the solemn act, which had put him in possession of this prerogative, he exerted no will of his own except in personal matters, which could not affect his people. Thus he ordered his Governor's bed to be taken out of his room, declaring it nevertheless as his pleasure, that the Duke of Charost, or, in his absence, the Sub-governor, should sleep in his room for three years, in the same manner as had been practised at the majority of Lewis XIV. For this purpose a tent bed was put up every night in his Majesty's chamber, and it was taken away in the morning.

He determined also upon the petition presented, during his minority, to the Regent, by the First Lords of the Bed-chamber, who demanded a recovery of their right of sleeping in the King's Chamber. The

Duke of Orleans had not chosen to determine
1724. upon this claim, and the First Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber have remained in possession of this honour.

The death of the Duke of Orleans, Prime Minister, obliged Lewis XV. to explain himself on a more delicate subject; and, thinking himself too young to undertake the management of affairs, he put into the Regent's place the Duke of Bourbon, head of the house of Condé. In this choice, which was not certainly the best he could have made, as he had not acquired a sufficient knowledge of mankind, to direct him, since he yet knew not himself, his conduct was at least consistent with the rules of propriety. He thought it right to intrust this place, the most important of the kingdom, to a Prince of his own house, and

as they were all young men, he pitched upon the eldest of them, who was not, however, more than thirty-one years of age. The manner in which his Highness had managed and improved his own revenues, notwithstanding his youth, a time in which we are chiefly engaged in the pursuit of pleasure, was besides a presumptive proof in favour of his talents for the prudent administration of those of the State; and rich as he was, it was imagined his attention would not be engaged in increasing his opulence. The finances were then in fact the essential part of Government. France was in want of a pacific, mild, æconomical administration, which should avail itself of the calm produced by the tranquillity of Europe, to restore the kingdom by commerce, by industry, and by an insensible reflux of the specie, from the exhausted state into which it was fallen. As for the rest, there was no one unacquainted with the prodigious difference between the genius of the Regent and that of the Duke. The following is the character drawn of the latter, in a work*, the author of which though concealing himself under the veil of secrecy, is rather flattering than satyrical. "Less capable than his predecessor, but equally addicted to debauchery, his person was tall, thin, and disagreeable; his temper was rough and unaccommodating; he was curious, and fond of scarce and precious things: having a very beautiful wife, upon whom he did not set a right value, seeking abroad for pleasures, which he was little able to enjoy, making a great and magnificent expence——" We certainly cannot find out, among all these qualities, any that are proper to characterise a Statesman.

The first act he did in his new capacity proved, on the contrary, how little of a Statesman he was. We mean to speak of that severe edict issued against the Protestants and other sectaries, 14 March. which forbade them, under the most heavy penalties, the exercise of their religion, enjoined them to educate their children in the Catholic faith, confiscated the estates of persons returning to the Protestant faith,

* "Secret Memoirs for the History of Persia."

faith, and stained the memory of those who die without having received the sacrament of the church.

It would not have occasioned any surprise, if such an edict had appeared at the beginning of the reign, when the Protestants of Guienne and Languedoc had refused to pay the tithes, when those of Montauban had assembled, when the report spread of Clergymen being arrived to catechize them, announced a formal design of resuming the course of their exercises; of their preaching and instructions, and when the Council of Conscience, composed of the members of the Clergy, and actuated by that impetuous zeal which consumes all that it is concerned in, was eager to signalize itself in its first ardour.

Such a conduct, though inconsistent, perhaps, with the notions of a philosopher, who knows that persecution only increases fanaticism, spreads it, and gives it greater activity and energy, would then at least have been excusable in the eye of vulgar politicians, from the necessity of suppressing the first act of rebellion, and stopping their progress by exemplary punishments: but after eight years of tranquillity and submission, to put so barbarous a law as this in force again, is a circumstance that can but give a very bad opinion of the narrow views of the Prime Minister, and of his complaisance for the Priests. The example of the Regent was still before the eyes of the people, who, even in the troubles we may recal to our memory, moderated the fury of the Clergy, censured the severity of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, and took out of the gallies sixty-eight of these unhappy persons, to whom he gave full liberty to go out of the kingdom wherever they thought proper. The parallel heightened the odium against the successor.

Fortunately, before the persecution, which this edict would have occasioned, was begun, the States General, who had then some influence at the
 31 *August*. Court of Versailles, presented a memorial to the King, to obtain some mitigations to this edict, in favour of the Dutch merchants settled in France. In order not to make too formal a retraction

tion in so short a time, it was contrived to give a declaration, excepting the inhabitants of the province of Alsace from the rigour of the edict, inasmuch as their privileges were founded upon the most solemn treaties of peace. 15 Sept.

The circumstance that furnishes the best proof how much these rigours against the Protestants were dangerous, and might have become fatal, if they had been strictly executed, is the eagerness of certain Powers to avail themselves of so gross a fault in politics. The Swedes no sooner heard of this edict, than they hastened to publish a manifesto, by which they invited French Protestants, *October.* who had any occupation, to go and settle in their country. Thus it is, that since the revocation of the edict of Nantz, the neighbours of France have enriched themselves, at her expence, with a multitude of her subjects, and, increasing their population by our loss, have, at the same time, acquired a variety of sciences, arts, and trades, which they had not before. It was then thought that internal tranquillity, and the cessation of civil wars, were a sufficient compensation for emigrations and the loss of trade. Philosophers had not yet discussed these reasonings, more specious than solid; it was necessary that half a century * should be nearly elapsed, before the darkness of prejudice was dissipated, and before it was conceived that the reinstating of the Protestants among the body of the citizens, far from being injurious to the interests either of the Church or the State, could not but contribute to the honour of the one, and the good of the other.

In general, every new tax, or every additional office, is little calculated to render a Minister agreeable to the nation; much less so when he has no advantageous

* It is well known that it hath been for many years an object of consideration in France, to give the Protestants a legal establishment in that kingdom; it is under M. Turgot, that the Government has taken up new ideas upon this matter: and at the time we are writing this (in 1778) the Parliament even seems to have opened their eyes upon it.

tageous operation, or any increase of glory, to offer as an indemnification. The people, therefore, could not but be highly displeased with the Duke, for his declaration bearing a tax on the fiftieth part of the revenue of all estates, payable during twelve years.

The right of joyous acceſſion (*joyeux avènement*) to the crown, which the Kings of France pretended to be due to them, and the ridiculous claim of which is contested, becauſe the Parliaments do not register it, was already a ſubject of diſcontent. It had juſt been eſtabliſhed by a declaration, given only under the Great Seal, and for this reaſon it was collected but ſlowly and ſecretly*. People were incenſed,

1725. that in the miſt of peace another tax ſhould be added to it, of a ſingular kind; and the

Magiſtrates not being willing to accede to it, it was neceſſary to have recourſe to a Bed of Juſtice, a formidable apparatus, which was beginning to become very common. The

King cauſed to be regiſtered there, in his preſence, not only this edict of the fiftieth part of the revenue, but another likewiſe, denoting the privileges, concessions, and alienations, granted to the India Company, and by which that Company was diſcharged from all the operations of the Bank, and all the accounts they might have to make up. His Maſteſty further ordered, that all the regiſters which had been made for the purchaſe of ſhares, and other operations of the Company, during the minority, ſhould be burnt. Theſe circumſtances diſcovered the affection of the Prime Miniſter for a Company in which he had made ſo prodigious a fortune; all the veſtiges of which, it is ſaid,

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* In the "Hiſtoric Journal of the Faſti of the Reign of Lewis XV. ſurnamed the Bien Aimé," it is ſaid that this tax produced about forty-four millions [near two millions ſterling] in ſpecie. The writer has been ill informed. The tax was farmed at twenty-three millions [near one million ſterling.] The company who did this buſineſs, got by it, it is true, forty-one millions [more than one million and a half ſterling;] but the collecting of it was only completed in 1744, and the accounts were not ſettled at the Chamber, till a few months before the death of Lewis XV.

he was desirous of effacing. Such was undoubtedly the cause of the darkness in which these troublesome times were involved, and which will always prove an embarrassment to an historian, how great soever his sagacity.

The sending back of the Infanta of Spain is another event of the administration of the Duke of Bourbon, which cannot be approved. This insult, committed against a Sovereign, who was uncle to the King, at a time when it was essential to be upon good terms with him, was so much the more unnecessary, as it was done in order that the King might marry the daughter of a dethroned Prince. In vain was it alledged, that the little Princess was too young, being scarce seven years of age; that she could not therefore be married for several years; and that it was expedient to gratify the wishes of the nation, impatient that the King should have heirs to his crown. Not only the nation did not express the impatience ascribed to them, but they were already accustomed to see their future Queen grow up under their own eyes; they began to take an interest in her, and saw her depart with regret. It was considered as a very bad piece of policy, to form an alliance that could not be of any advantage; but on the contrary, must become very burthenfome. Certainly, when the Regent, upon King Stanislaus having chosen his retreat at Weissenberg, in French Alsatia, answered Mr. Sum, Envoy of King Augustus, who was making his complaints to him upon it, *Sir, let the King your master know, that France has always been the asylum of unfortunate Princes*, he little expected that the daughter of that same Stanislaus would cause the expulsion of the Infanta, whose marriage he had projected, and would be seated in her place. And Stanislaus, when he found, after his flight from Poland, his daughter wandering and deserted, in the trough of a stable, in a village, did not expect the brilliant prosperity of his child. The more we study history, the more do we experience that we are blind, and conducted by a still blinder destiny. Nevertheless, the following, according to constant tradition, are the
secret

secret and incredible springs, by which this intrigue has been conducted.

King Stanislaus, retired at Weissenberg, was, as we have seen by the answer of the Regent, under the protection of France, and, in order to do honour to him, some regiments were kept in that place, the officers of which formed a kind of Court for him. Among these was the Count, since Marshal d'Estrées. He was at that time young, handsome, well made, active, and calculated to please the women. Stanislaus perceived that his daughter had conceived an affection for him: one day, he took him aside, conversed with him upon the matter, and declared, that although he had no hope of re-ascending the throne of Poland, yet he doubted not but that he should have justice, and that he should receive the estates belonging to him in that country; that this would enable him to give a very opulent dower with his daughter, and even intitle her to marry some petty Sovereign; but that he preferred the happiness of this darling child, to any thing that might flatter his ambition; that he had observed how agreeable the Count was to her; and that he was not averse from bestowing her on him in marriage, if to his birth, already illustrious, he could add some distinguishing mark of dignity for his posterity, such as a Dukedom, and Peerage. D'Estrées was ardent, and in a hurry to make his way. Having answered immediately with proper modesty, he acknowledged himself to be inflamed with a tender and respectful passion for the Princess, but that he should never have dared to carry his views so high; yet, since he was encouraged by his Majesty's goodness, he would endeavour to make himself worthy of it. He set off immediately for Court, and solicited of the Regent the dignity that was required. His R. H. did not love the Louvois, and was therefore far from consenting to such a proposal, under a pretence that d'Estrées was not a proper person to marry a daughter of a Sovereign, though an elective one, and deprived of his crown.

The Duke of Bourbon coming in to his R. H. soon after this conversation with d'Estrées, the Regent, who
was

was still agitated with the boldness of the Colonel, communicated the matter to him, and in the course of the conversation insinuated to him, that he ought to think of this marriage for himself; that this alliance would be perfectly suitable to him, especially with the expectation of the large possessions Stanislaus was to recover. The Duke loved money, and was not averse to this opening; but before he concluded, he waited to see what turn the affairs of the fugitive Monarch might take. Besides, he was then enthralled with the Marchioness de Prie, his mistress; who, in hopes of keeping this illustrious slave more securely in her chains, endeavoured as much as possible to excite in him an aversion for marriage. In the mean time, the Regent died, and the Duke was appointed Prime Minister. This increase of dignity proved only an additional spur to the ambition of the Marchioness, who perceived that she should now govern under him. The youth and timidity of the King gave her reason to hope, that this might continue for a long time; but the passion of ambition is ever restless and active. The Marchioness was under apprehensions, that the marriage of Lewis XV. with the Infanta, might diminish the power of the Duke, or at least occasion a division of it; she therefore suggested the manœuvre of sending back the Princess, and in order to determine the resolutions of the Minister upon this point, she proposed to him, that the King should marry one of his sisters, which would necessarily secure his Ministry from any attacks, and would for ever confirm both their Majesties in his dependence. The Duke found the expedient admirable; but he meant first to consult his mother about it, who had more sense than himself. He was moreover in hopes, that this advice, so favourable to the prosperity of his house, being suggested by Madame de Prie, would make that Lady less disagreeable to the Princess, who could not bear her.

The Dutchess of Bourbon, who also loved to rule, far from disapproving, was extremely pleased with this project; but reproached her son with being indebted to a woman for it, and for not having himself conceived

conceived this idea of grandeur. She promised, however, to treat Madame de la Prie with more caution, and to look upon her with a more favourable eye. Her design was to excite her son to make the first éclat, by breaking the marriage of the Infanta. When she saw that alliance entirely dissolved, and no longer entertained any doubt of the marriage of her daughter, she resumed with the Marchioness those airs of contempt and haughtiness, which had offended her. The Marchioness vowed revenge, and set about it in the following manner:

"My Lord Duke," said she, in one of those intimate conversations, wherein they were both weighing the destinies of France, "we have not settled this matter properly. The marriage of your sister with the King, would undoubtedly be the means of raising your house, but at the same time would destroy your own elevation. You have a mother who would not fail to maintain the most absolute ascendant over the future Queen, if she be her daughter, and you ought to be the more persuaded of this, as you yourself are sensible of the power she assumes over you, and know how much difficulty you have to free yourself from it. I think, that if you mean to preserve your power, you must sacrifice the glory of this alliance, and marry the young King merely to a Princess, without any advantages besides those of birth, and who being indebted to you for her fortune, will for ever be grateful." This was plainly pointing out to the Duke the daughter of King Stanislaus; and thus the views of this intriguing Lady were doubly answered. In the first place, she mortified the Dutchess of Bourbon, and thwarted all her schemes of empire; and secondly, she was striving to confirm and perpetuate her own power, by preventing the marriage of her lover. The Duke readily comprehended her meaning, and saw no other motive than an excess of zeal in the Marchioness, desirous that he should preserve in its full extent the quality of Prime Minister. He adopted this plan the rather, as it suited him very well, because the character of the Princess was mild, and good, and

and her understanding weak. He proposed the affair in Council, and it met with the King's approbation. It is probable that his Majesty, already secretly led by the former Bishop of Frejus, gave his consent only at the instigation of that Prelate, who, being more artful than the Duke, was already thinking of supplanting him, and left the Duke to act in favour of his rival, while he was thinking, only to confirm his own authority. Thus it was that Maria, after being proposed to a Colonel, and then accepted as a suitable match for a Prince of the Blood, became 4 Sept. Queen of the finest kingdom in the universe.

In the sequel of these memoirs, we shall see, by the fatality that presides over the affairs of this world, that this marriage was the most fortunate one which Lewis XV. could contract. But no human prudence could have foreseen this, and every thing ought, on the contrary, to have dissuaded the Prime Minister from it, had he consulted only the interests of the State. The calculations, even, which he and his mistress had made for their own account were erroneous, and the storm came from a quarter where they least expected it. Before the storm breaks, let us go through the remainder of the principal events, at this period of the reign.

The reasons which had determined the sending back of the Infanta, however they might have been represented to the King of Spain as necessary for the quiet of France and the tranquility of Europe, yet that Monarch was not pleased with them. He knew well that the manœuvres of a shameful intrigue were concealed under the appearance of a wise policy; and he was apprized of the odious and contemptible cause of these manœuvres. As soon as he was informed of the resolution taken upon this subject, he recalled the Plenipotentiaries, and the Congress was dissolved, as his interests made the principal object of it. He gave orders to the Baron de Ripperda, his Minister at Vienna, to close with the Emperor, and was compelled to make an extraordinary alliance with his rival. In consequence of this, four treaties were concluded in his name at Vienna in one day, one with the Empire, and

and three with the Emperor. These treaties had been secretly negotiating for a long time, while the Ministers of the two Courts seemed to be much divided at Cambray; but perhaps they would not have taken place, if the misunderstanding, which happened at this time, had not determined the conclusion and signature of them; for one instant of ill-humour, or of satisfaction, often forwards affairs more than all the ability of the negotiator; or rather, the principal talent of the negotiator is, dexterously to lay hold of the crisis of the passions, in order to turn them to his advantage.

In this ferment, it was necessary that the King should have a Minister at Vienna, capable of watching over his interests. The Duke of Richelieu, who now began to make a figure, was sent there in character of Ambassador Extraordinary. But the treaty of Hanover, signed a short time after, between France, England, and the King of Prussia, was the principal preservative against the secret designs the Spaniards might have. Thus every thing continued to be singular in the system of the European alliances, which could not long be maintained in this state. We leave it to those who shall treat more particularly of this part of history, to unfold the views which we throw out in a vague manner upon the subject of war or politics.

A declaration of the King concerning beggars and vagabonds, which appeared at the
 28 July, beginning of the Duke of Bourboon's Ministry,
 1724. excited in the first instant an admiration of the wisdom and humanity of his administration. The object of this law was, not to suffer one poor man in the kingdom; to supply those who were incapable of labour with food; and to procure work for those who were healthy and strong: a regulation long wished for, and the execution of which, would have been as glorious to the government, as useful to the state; a regulation, which has been attempted several times, and hitherto without success, because the previous and most necessary operation has always been forgotten, which is, to set a part a fund sufficient for such an establishment; or rather the regulation has been unsuccessful,

successful, because the public treasury, ever ransacked by depredatory Ministers, has never been able, for any length of time, to supply a sufficiency for the arrangements taken on this matter.

The dreadful phantom called etiquette, occasioned also, under the Ministry of the Duke, a disturbance with Portugal, which might have been attended with serious consequences, if that secondary power had been more in a condition to maintain a contest with France. The Abbé de Livry, Ambassador from his Majesty to that Court, received orders to retire from Lisbon without demanding an audience of the King of Portugal, because the Secretary of State had refused to pay the first visit to the Ambassador of the King as it was customary. Lewis XV. was then at that age when a young and superb Prince is very jealous of the rights of his Crown, and, after having listened to his Council, he was easily determined to treat the matter in the most serious manner.

This determination was not beyond his powers, any more than another which he had previously given, and which concerned the internal etiquette of his household. A contest having happened between the officers of the body Guards, and those of the Gendarmerie and Light Horse of his Guard, concerning the place which each of them was to take near the King's coach in his excursions, his Majesty made a regulation, signifying, that the officers of the Life Guards should march to the right and left of the coach, even with the hind wheels, and that the officers of the Gendarmery, Light Horse, and Mousquetaires, should march parallel to the fore wheels: both the one and the other in such a manner as that the coach door should be left free, and should give the people the facility of seeing the Monarch.

It is thus that Lewis XV. accustomed himself, by trifling matters, to pronounce upon those that were more important. Since the death of the Regent, he in some sort enjoyed the satisfaction of being freed from

from the restraint of tuition. He had introduced Marshal Villars into the Council, who would never have been admitted there in the time of his

1726. R. H. He granted to the Count of Toulouse, married privately to the Marchioness de Gondrin, sister of the Duke of Noailles, permission to declare his marriage, and to make it public, which would not have happened sooner : but there was one affair, which was done more particularly to amuse a child of fifteen years of age ; and this was the promotion he made at once of fifty-seven Knights Commanders of the Holy Ghost. This is what is called the grand promotion. On the same day he appointed seven Marshals of France, among whom the Count de Broglie alone has since acquired some reputation.

At length he performed one of the most conspicuous acts of supreme power, by determining to take the reins of government into his own hands, thanking the Duke for his services, and in return, writing to him to retire to Chantilli. The good citizens were not sorry for the expulsion of this Prince *, under whom the women had every influence ; but it was observed, that the conduct of the King in this instance betrayed a dissimulation inconsistent with his age, and which, from that time, announced a weak and little mind.

The letter *de cachet* had been already dispatched in the morning, when the Prime Minister came to receive as usual his orders from the King, who was going on a hunting-party to Rambouillet. His Majesty, notwithstanding what had happened, did not give the less favourable reception to his Prime Minister ; he loaded him with caresses, and asked the Duke whether he should not see him during the journey, which was to last a few days ; and whether he would not go a hunting with him ? We may readily conceive that the Duke's sudden disgrace could not but appear more mortifying to him, after such a reception, and such a farewell.

It would, however be an easy matter to justify the conduct of Lewis XV. who was not yet sixteen years of age, and did not act from himself. Every thing he did,

was

* The Marchioness de Prei, his favourite mistress, was banished also.

was probably dictated to him by his Preceptor, who insensibly gained the greatest ascendant over the Royal Pupil. This Prelate, concealing under an air of simplicity and modesty, a deep and unbounded ambition, and under the appearance of the strictest candour, the most deliberate deceit, would not have dared to contend openly with the Prime Minister. Besides, he was well enough acquainted with the King, to judge him incapable of disgracing the Duke of Bourbon to his face, or of bearing his excuses, or perhaps his reproaches: he thought it more safe to have recourse to artifice, being certain, that by preventing every explanation, and circumventing his Majesty at the instant, he confirmed and perpetuated for ever his influence over his mind. Such was the motive of the ignoble proceeding of Lewis XV. which was rather the act of a slave, who wishes to free himself from the yoke, than of a Monarch, whose genius, impatient of controul, eagerly soars to empire.

The circumspection of the young King's Mentor would not allow him to enjoy immediately the honour to which he aspired; he rather chose to conceal his intentions: he engaged his Majesty to suppress the office of Prime Minister; he made him declare to his people, that in taking upon himself the administration of his kingdom, he did not presume upon his own strength, but relied upon the protection of Heaven. Accordingly his Majesty wrote a letter to the Cardinal de Noailles, in which he desired, that public prayers should be offered up to God, in order to obtain the blessings he was in need of, for the government of his kingdoms. The Archbishop of Paris hastened to comply with the King's intentions, and ordered prayers to be put up in all the churches of the metropolis. All the Bishops of the kingdom followed this example, in their respective dioceses, and did not fail, while they applauded this laudable instance of piety, to celebrate the premature wisdom of their modern Joash.

The second epocha of the reign of Lewis XV. properly begins at this period; the Ministry of the Duke of Bourbon having been nothing more than a kind of

continuation of the Regency, by reason of the extreme youth of the King. This period is extended to the Ministry of Cardinal Fleuri, because, as we have just hinted, he is the only person who directed the events of it, even before he was declared Prime Minister.

After the fatal crisis of a tempestuous Regency, this fortunate and peaceable Minister presents us with a prospect more agreeable, and more flattering to the nation. During this period, we see France, which in the course of the preceding reign had been so much the object of universal terror and hatred, and so much the object of contempt towards the end of it, now become the arbiter of Europe, admiring her justice, and delighting in her moderation. We see her King, the trustee of the interests of his rivals, procuring for them, almost against their will, a peace which he enjoys, and the sweets of which he feels. Scarce was the Cardinal placed at the head of affairs, but the internal part of the kingdom assumed a new face. The exhausted state to which the Bank of Law had reduced it, the general mistrust, which had only increased under the Duke of Bourbon, the scarcity of corn that happened in the year preceding the Duke's dismissal*, the misery and diseases which were the unavoidable consequences of famine, the continual fluctuation in the value of specie, the confusion that prevailed in all parts of the state, and especially in the finance; all these evils disappeared. Credit was restored, both within and without the kingdom; commerce was revived, extended, and multiplied; and the provinces, which, a few months before, resembled a ravaged country, became in a short time richer, perhaps, than they had ever been. Such was the flourishing state of France, when the election of a King of Poland intervened to disturb the general harmony. This incident forced the French into a war, in which the arms of the King, being almost always victorious, procured the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to a Prince of the House of Bourbon, and added to the Crown of France, what Lewis XIV. had

* In 1725 there were continual rains during the summer, which ruined the harvest.

had never been able to acquire, the dutchies of Bar and Lorraine.

Such is the magnificent sketch of Cardinal Fleuri's administration, the parts of which it will be the business of historians to develop at large. As to ourselves, being arrived at the period when Lewis XV. became a man, and when our attention will be particularly engaged upon him, we shall only take notice of other things briefly, and inasmuch as the facts, in their detail, may coincide with our plan of describing the character, genius, and manners of this Prince; which, for the instruction of his equals, and of all mankind, is one of the most interesting subjects of study and contemplation.

Lewis XV. when he undertook to free himself from the tutelage of the Duke of Bourbon, was entering into the age of adolescence, being between sixteen and seventeen years of age. His contemporaries describe him as being handsome, of proper stature, with a leg perfectly well made, a noble mein, his eyes large, his look rather mild than fierce, his eye-brows dark; and his appearance all together seeming to bespeak that delicate habit of body, which he afterwards fortified so much by exercise, that he was able to bear the greatest fatigues. It is to this tardy progress of nature in him, that we are undoubtedly to attribute the calmness of those passions, which are so active at that age in most individuals of strong constitutions, and especially among Princes, with whom every thing contributes to awaken these passions early. He then appeared indifferent for women, for play, and for high living, all of which he was much addicted to after. Hunting was his only pleasure, whether it were that a secret instinct led him to this salutary exercise, or that want of employment prompted him to it, from the apprehension of that *tædium*, which already began to embitter his best days: for his education having been much neglected, from the fear of fatiguing him in his infancy, his mind was but little embellished, and he had not acquired that taste for study, which is of so great resource at all times, and in every station. He had an invincible aversion for business, so that he could scarce bear to

hear it spoken of. Having no thirst of glory, he wanted that energy, which, in his great grandfather, had corrected the defects of education, and made up for his ignorance. In a word, being of an easy, indolent, and timid disposition, he was calculated to be governed by the first person who should gain an ascendant over him. This circumstance the Preceptor of the Prince soon perceived, and he availed himself of it, to lay the foundation of his grandeur.

The Preceptor was, in many points, of a character similar to that of his Royal Pupil. Hence that sympathy between them, which made the one so much attached to the interests of his master, and the other so obedient to the counsels of his Preceptor. Simplicity, modesty, prudence, and circumspection, were, in some sort, the safeguards of the ambition of the ancient Bishop of Frejus; his ambition partook of those qualities; it made its way by patience and insinuation, and had nothing in it of that active and turbulent progression which marks this passion in other men. It had already, undoubtedly, arrived to a great height, but by slow degrees. The Cardinal was seventy-three years old when he was appointed to the Ministry. Born in a southern province of France, of parents, if not obscure, at least little known, he was designed for the church, and instructed in the sciences suitable to that profession which he entered into early. It is the profession the best calculated to promote those who are not called up to high employments by their birth.

The Abbé Fleuri had an ardent desire to appear at Court, being certain that his youth and his person would be of wonderful advantage to him; he managed so well, that he came there furnished with pretty good recommendations, which he supported by his merits among the women, but always with that reserve and discretion which guided all his conduct, and which even the ladies were not able to remove. He obtained the post of King's Chaplain, and a few years after was named to a bishopric. Thus he was again sent back into a province, and even at a great distance from the scene on which he had but just shewn himself; but hy-

pocriſy

pocrisy was to be the principal spring of his elevation. His exactness in the performance of his duty made him be taken notice of by Lewis XIV. and chosen to superintend the education of Lewis XV. He soon flattered himself, that he should realize in his person the great predictions of the astrologers, in which he had much confidence; for although he had a great share of understanding, yet was he not possessed of that genius, which being superior to events, feels itself capable of commanding them, and expects its fortune from itself alone. This weakness, however, was very useful to him, inasmuch as, relying on that happy fatality in which he believed, he accustomed himself early to his elevation, which did not appear strange to him; and inasmuch as the assurance of success, without ever making him presumptuous, inspired him with that perseverance which supplied the place of energy, and enabled him to undertake a plan of fortune, which otherwise he would never have conceived. The ascendant which he found he had over his pupil, in proportion as he discovered his inclinations and qualities, persuaded him, that in time he might aspire to the highest pitch of power; and the death of the Regent opened the most extensive career to his ambition.

The circumstances were favourable; he had no competitor in the Council who could balance his favour, or even contend with his talents. The first Prince of the blood was but three and twenty years old; he already announced that turn for devotion and retirement which he since carried to so high a degree; he was not devoid of sense, but turned it entirely to the sciences and to study, taking scarce any part in public affairs. His father had judged, with regret, that he was incapable of acting his part in the political world, and those who have obstinately persisted in attributing to the Regent criminal views upon the throne, have pretended that he did not desist from his project, till after he had acquired the knowledge of the incapacity of his only son, to second, and to succeed him. The government of the kingdom would have been too weighty a burthen for the Marshals Villars, Uxelles, and Tallard. Besides, the first, though covered with glo-

ry at the head of the army, had but just, as we have seen, entered into the Ministry, and must therefore have been employed merely in maintaining himself in it: and the two others had not stability enough in their talents, to aspire to the first post. The Count of Morville alone, First Secretary of State, son to the Keeper of the Seals, already intrusted with the most important and difficult department *; a man of much understanding, beloved by the nation, honoured by foreigners—who held his post, to which he had formed himself for some years past, with distinction—a great politician, an honest man, in a word, who had the approbation of the Regent, whose creature he was; this Nobleman, I say, was the only person who could have given umbrage to the antient Bishop of Fréjus. This rival soon removed himself; for, not having been able to preserve the Seals to his father, whom he supported by his own merit and credit, the disgrace of the Chancellor affected him in such a manner, that he committed the folly of giving in his resignation, and died soon after of chagrin.

The other secretaries of State at that time were the Count de Maurepas, appointed to the navy; his cousin the Count de St. Florentin, who presided over the Clergy; and M. le Blanc, at the head of the war department. The time was yet certainly distant, when the Count de Maurepas, destined one day to govern the kingdom, was, after thirty years, to succeed to Cardinal Fleuri: he was first to be matured by experience, and especially by misfortune. With regard to the Count de St. Florentin, the memoirs of the times †, represent him as a little plump man, without ambition, of mean capacity, and who was more taken up with pleasure, and with his intercourse with women, than with affairs. Far from thinking to supplant the new Minister, he thought himself fortunate that the Cardinal, judging that the business with which he was charged did not require any great capacity, should leave him

* We have previously seen that he had the department of foreign affairs.

† See particularly, the "Secret Memoirs of the History of Persia."

in the post in which he had found him. With regard to M. le Blanc, who had but just resumed his post in the Ministry, and had been humbled by exile and imprisonment, he was far from caballing against this Mentor of the King.

With respect to the finances, they were in the hands of the President D'Odun †, who was obliged to give in his resignation a few days after the Duke of Bourbon's disgrace, and was succeeded by M. le Pelletier Desforts, through the influence, undoubtedly, of the antient Bishop of Fréjus, who thus secured to himself a man, in the post the most essential for the execution of his future projects.

All the obstacles which might have been in the way of his elevation, being thus removed, he was soon promoted to the Cardinalship, on 11 Sept. the nomination of Lewis XV. which according to the claims of these Princes of the church, implied the necessity of making him Prime Minister, since he took rank above all other persons who were obliged to come to him about business.

As he was sensible that he had not the qualities necessary for war; that on this account he was the better able to gratify the no less peaceable inclinations of the young Monarch; and that France, being exhausted by one of the most violent shocks it had ever experienced, could only recover itself by a long peace; the Cardinal's first care was to preserve public tranquillity at any rate. For this purpose, following the example of the Regent, he maintained the union and friendship established between the Courts of Versailles and London. The latter, anxious for their possessions in the Mediterranean, since the treaty of Vienna, had sent a squadron to carry provisions, ammunition, and reinforcements, to the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon. This squadron anchoring in the Bay of St. Anthony, on the coast of Biscay, alarmed the Spaniards. They preserved however externally all the marks of good-fellowship; their chiefs and their officers

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† He was honorary President of the fourth chamber of the inquiries of Parliament.

cers paid Vice Admiral Jennings, who commanded the squadron, the usual visits and honours, war being not yet declared; but they did not the less take their precautions, and lined the whole coast with troops, as much in order to quiet the alarms of the people, as to provide for their own safety. The good offices of Cardinal Fleuri contributed certainly not a little, this year, to prevent the hostile intentions of the English, especially against those famous galleons, which are always the first object of cupidity upon any rupture. He made himself not less useful to the English, when they were on the eve of losing Gibraltar. At length the animosity which had arisen between the Emperor and his Britannic Majesty, furnished him the opportunity of shewing his dexterity, in the conciliation of so many different interests.

M. Palm, the Emperor's Resident, had presented a memorial very offensive to his Britannic Majesty, inasmuch as most of the facts mentioned by that Prince, in his last speech to Parliament, were taxed in it with lying and falshood; because the King, in unveiling the motives and secret designs of the treaty of Vienna, had advanced, among other things, that their Imperial and Catholic Majesties had formed the resolution of restoring the Pretender. He received orders the next day to leave the kingdom of Great-Britain within a week.

The Emperor, by way of reprisals, had sent an order to the British Ministers at Vienna, to quit that place in four and twenty hours, and to leave his dominions with all expedition. These personalities, it is well known, often occasion more vigorous wars, than the most powerful interests. Cardinal Fleuri was therefore desirous of extinguishing these sparks, which were to set Europe in flames.

In order to render his master's mediation more effectual, he sent the Chevalier d'Orleans into the Mediterranean, with a squadron of six gallies, and the Marquis d'O, Lieutenant-General of the naval forces, also set sail from Brest for the same destination,

1727. with a squadron of twelve ships of the line.

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The apprehension of seeing so powerful an enemy declare itself against those who should resist the overtures made, removed the first difficulties, and the Count de Morville, the Baron de Fonzeca, Messrs. Horace Walpole and Borcel, Ministers of the King, of the Emperor, of his Britannic Majesty, and of the States General, signed the preliminaries of the treaty at Paris. But what a length of time *31 May.* elapsed before the much-desired work of a general pacification could be completed! It was agreed to assemble a Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle; the place was afterwards changed; Cambray was mentioned; and at last Soissons, for the convenience of Cardinal Fleuri, in whose probity all the foreign Potentates had the most implicit confidence.

Spain was troublesome, and raised difficulties. The Spaniards had not yet raised the siege of Gibraltar; but only converted it into a blockade. Fortunately, the reconciliation which took place at that time between the Courts of Versailles and Madrid, gave the former a greater degree of influence over the latter. It was Lewis XV. who made the first advances, by sending to his Catholic Majesty a letter of congratulation upon the happy delivery of the Queen of Spain, who had just brought an Infant into the world. The King's illustrious uncle could not resist these advances, and declared that union was restored with his nephew. The blue ribband was immediately sent to the new-born Prince.

At Vienna, the chief center of the negotiations, since neither France nor England had any Ambassador at Madrid, the Duke de Richelieu, our *1728.* Minister at that Court, was obliged to exert all his political talents; and his attention, advice, and negotiation, gave so much satisfaction, that his Majesty, in reward of his services, held a Chapter extraordinary of the Order of the Holy Ghost, in which, after the proofs of the candidate were admitted, his Majesty granted him permission to wear the cross and the ribband of the Order, till such time as he should come himself to receive the collar from his Majesty's hands.

This extraordinary favour was only the prelude to future, though certainly less glorious favours, which he was afterwards to receive from the young Monarch, in acquiring an intimacy with him.

Nevertheless, the conferences at Soissons, which had been opened upwards of fifteen months, produced no effect; and the Emperor could not resolve entirely to give up his Ostend Company, and irrevocably to confirm the rights of Spain to the states of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, which were the two points insisted upon. The French Minister availed himself of this circumstance, to represent to his Catholic Majesty how much an instant of ill-humour had induced him to lose sight of his real interests, in throwing himself into the arms of the Court of Vienna, his rival and his enemy; he gave him to understand, that the delays of the Emperor were, in fact, refusals of that justice he required of him, and that the most certain method of obtaining it, was to renounce an alliance so incompatible, and reunite himself with France and
 9 Nov. England. These observations were forcible,
 1729. and the result of them was the treaty of Seville, between the three Courts; to which the States General, who were interested in the extinction of the Ostend Company, readily acceded.
 1730.

The Emperor, with regret, saw himself pushed more strongly than ever, to execute so many promises made upon different occasions, and confirmed by a multiplicity of treaties. He still cavilled, however, upon pretence of being anxious for his other dominions. He forestalled Spain, by causing some of his troops to move into Italy, which prevented his Catholic Majesty from sending those that were
 10 Jan. agreed upon. The death of the Duke of
 1731. Parma having afterwards opened the right of eventual succession granted to Don Carlos, he carried his treachery so far, as to engage the Dutchess Dowager to feign being big with child, and thus to retard the execution of the engagement he had entered into.
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The King of Spain, tired with these delays and shufflings, caused a summons to be made by the Marquis del Castellar, his Ambassador in France, to the Courts that were the contracting parties and guarantees of the treaty of Seville, to join with him in compelling the Emperor to fulfil it; declaring, at the same time, that if it remained unexecuted, he would withdraw himself from the negotiation, with the resolution of employing all the methods, capable of obtaining that justice which he required.

This step had the desired effect; and the King of England exerted himself so effectually with the Court of Vienna, that he made the Emperor *16 March.* sign a treaty of acquiescence. Six thousand Spaniards embarked at Barcelona in an English fleet, and landed at Leghorn; they were soon followed by the Infant, who arrived there, after having crossed the southern provinces of France. The King had caused all possible honour to be paid to him. Thus was executed the introduction of Don *27 Dec.* Carlos into Italy, after a variety of negotiations, which had delayed the matter for thirteen years.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany, the last Prince of the House of Medices, had given his consent to this arrangement, by an act signed at Vienna, *27 Sept.* and had accepted the heir designed for him without his consent.

Voltaire, casting his eye rapidly and philosophically upon these events*, observes, with that poignant sagacity which makes the reading of his histories so alluring, that, by an admirable refinement of policy, the Cardinal turned the efforts of our rivals the English, to the aggrandizement of the House of Bourbon; but it must not be imagined that the English acted against their interest in these changes; or rather, that they did not profit by them in the most essential manner. Besides that they confirmed themselves by this in the possession of Gibraltar and Minorca, which were the dismemberings of the Spanish Monarchy; as also in the possession

* See his History of the War in 1741.

possession of Newfoundland and Acadia, ceded to them by France*: besides that they acquired the Negro-trade † in Spanish America, and the staple of an immense and clandestine commerce in the South Seas, by the permission which they at length extorted, of sending a ship every year to Porto Bello; they were also to profit, in common with the other maritime Powers, of the extinction of the Ostend Company. Beside all these advantages, they likewise secured to themselves, beforehand, a successful war, in case of a rupture with France, by the complaisance of the Cardinal, in suffering our navy to be destroyed. The point is, that this Minister, bent upon preserving the harmony between that Power and us, winked at all the subjects of complaint with which our Ambassador at that Court was charged ‡; this it was, at least, that prevented him from demanding satisfaction for them with vigour, and left still subsisting the seeds of those quarrels, which, sooner or later, were to break forth.

England paid for these advantages, at the expense of the Emperor. Besides, by suffering the House of Bourbon to establish itself in Italy, England fomented, by that neighbourhood, the animosity of the House of Austria against it, and laid the foundation of its own grandeur upon the ruins of both. This was not surely undextrous management; and, all things considered, it might be doubted which of the several Powers acted the most cunning part. But the Cardinal, not being able to prevent so many evils, which might assail the kingdom, was endeavouring to remedy the most urgent of them. While he was establishing without, a general pacification, he was labouring within, to conciliate

* By the Treaty of Utrecht.

† By the Assiento.

‡ In the appendix of this volume, we shall produce, under No VII. two manuscript memorials, under the form of instructions, given to Count Broglie, Ambassador in England: one of the 11th of April, 1724, concerns the French Colonies in America; and the other, of the 18th of May, relates to the maritime trade, navigation, and the Colonies. In these curious pieces, we shall see the causes of that discord which has since broken out, after having been fomented during thirty years.

ciliate the nation to himself; to restore harmony between the different orders of the State; and especially, to engage the affections of the people for his beneficent government.

The first act of administration to which he persuaded the King, at the instant of the Duke of Bourbon's disgrace, was the suppression of the tax of the fifteenth part, which had been established the year before, by that Minister. He also caused, by a decree of Council, a proportional and reasonable rate to be fixed upon the old specie, and the materials of gold and silver; an essential basis, upon which commerce, almost annihilated, was to raise itself again. Since that time, the coin has never experienced any variation; and this part of his administration, though it hath nothing brilliant in it, has been the principal cause of the prosperity of France, and hath not been sufficiently extolled by the Cardinal's panegyrists.

But if he procured the general good of the kingdom in this instance, there was reason to reproach him, a little time after, with having occasioned the ruin of several families, by the reduction of a number of life annuities, under pretence of their being founded on papers acquired at a low price. Besides that these life annuities were already at four per cent. they should likewise have been held the more sacred, as the necessity of the times had compelled people to accept these annuities, offered to them by the Government. It was not in the Cardinal's disposition to brave the public clamour, and he was alarmed at it. The injustice of an operation, the profits of which, though trifling to the Prince, were of considerable prejudice to the persons concerned, was explained to him, and he retracted. Notwithstanding this, the result of this step was the same as what always follows such attempts; that is, the injured parties lost at least a sixth part of their revenues. In order to efface every impression, which this breach of faith might have left against him, he threw the blame upon the Comptroller General, and made him the sacrifice. He flattered himself, he should, by this step, persuade the public, that this subaltern Minister

nister had been the sole author of the mischief, and that he was punishing him for his bad advice. This behaviour could only impose upon fools, and upon the populace. Although M. le Pelletier Desforts was known to be a hard man, and eager in the pursuit of his Sovereign's interest, he passed at the same time for a man of judgment; he had much experience, was very capable, perfectly acquainted with the state of the kingdom, and inclined to ballance with equity the interests of the master, and those of the subject. Far from suspecting him of having formed this fatal project, it was well known, beyond a doubt, that he had strongly opposed it; but he had done another thing, which prevented him from being regretted so much as he would otherwise have been. He had suppressed all the annuities under ten livres *, granted on the taxes, because the parties to whom they belonged; finding the necessary fees for receiving them as expensive as letting them alone, renounced them of themselves, and thus prevented the settling of the accounts. There was certainly a more honest mode to be adopted; which was, to pay them off. The partizans of the disgraced Minister were not able to exculpate him from this infamous act: so much is it certain, that a Minister of Finance, though apparently of the greatest integrity, is sure to deserve, upon some account or other, the curses of the people.

The second lease of the farms, since the *August, system*, had been made out under this Comptroller General, and had been raised from 1726. 55 to 80 millions †. It was called the *Lease of the Remainders*, by reason of the cession the King made to the contractors in question, of the customs which the Administration of 1721 had not been able to get in; which was the cause of the immense riches acquired by all those who were included in the list. The Cardinal had stricken off ten of them, creatures of the Duke of Bourbon; such an odium had he conceived for every

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* Eight shillings and four pence.

† From upwards of two millions, to upwards of three millions sterling.

ry thing belonging to that Minister. These private affairs were a mere sport to the Cardinal. Considering his profession and his character, those of religion must necessarily have employed him more seriously. Unfortunately, he did not treat them with the same liberality of mind, as the Regent and Cardinal Dubois had done, nor with those philosophic views which ought to direct Statesmen in all circumstances. Thinking that he acted from himself alone, he yielded too much to the impulse of the Jesuits, and his administration did not continue long enough to quiet those troubles which he excited only, and increased by persecution. The accommodation managed by the Jesuits with the Cardinal de Noailles, giving still more solidity to the party of the Opponents, he entered into negotiations with that Prelate, in hopes that the old man would not resist so many attacks; and, while thirty Rectors of Paris were presenting a memorial to prevent this †, Cardinal Fleuri, in order to shake his resolution, attempted to move him by a great example; he engaged the King to permit the Archbishop of Embrun to assemble a provincial Council in his palace, in order to treat of and discuss the affairs of religion, and the doctrines of faith. The Bishops of Senez, Gap, Bellay, Frejus, Vence, Sisteron, Glandeve, Autun, Viviers, Apt, Valentia, Grenoble, Grace, and Marseilles, were ordered to attend it. This assembly, of which there had been no similar instance since the Council of Trent—of which it was however but a feeble image—was nevertheless a matter of importance to weak believers; it comforted them with the hope of seeing themselves confirmed in their faith, and recalled to their minds the times of the primitive church. Alas! those times were much altered; secret and odious practices had given birth to the pretended Council: these were soon discovered, and made it be called *le brigandage d'Embrun*. The Council being opened, the Abbé Hugues, the Proctor,

† This memorial having been printed and distributed, was condemned by decree of Council, of the 14th of January 1727, as “scandalous, and contrary to the decisions of the Church, and to the laws of the State.”

Proctor, accused *the pastoral instruction of M. de Soanem*, Bishop of Senez, of the 28th of August 1726, as *containing seditious maxims and capital errors*, as being injurious to the Bull *Unigenitus*, and as recommending the reading of the book of *Moral Reflections* by Father Queinel, which was forbidden by that Bull and by the society of Bishops. The accused Prelate had the courage to stand forth and acknowledge his own work, to maintain that the propositions it contained were conformable to his sentiments, and to declare, that he could not give them up. This noble and respectable conduct had not its proper effect; the Council, which was not inspired by the Holy Ghost, but guided by the Government, pronounced a
 20 Sept. sentence, by which the work of M. de Senez
 1727. was condemned, in conformity to the accusation, and which ordered, that the author refusing to retract, should be suspended from all episcopal power and jurisdiction. During this suspension, the Abbé Saleon, Doctor in divinity, was appointed Vicar General, and he was enjoined to require, that all the Clergy in the diocese of Senez should sign the formulary of Pope Alexander VII. and should cause the *Constitution Unigenitus* to be published.

M. de Soanem did not think himself obliged to submit to this judgment. He protested against it, and lodged an appeal to the Pope, and to the future Council General; this caused him to be banished by the King to the Abbey of la Chaise-Dieu, in the mountains of Auvergne. This Prelate was greater in his exile than in his episcopal see; he shewed to the end a firmness which made him a hero of his own party, and excited the admiration even of those who were of a different way of thinking. He died some years after at this place.

The affair did not stop here: twelve Bishops, at the head of whom was the Cardinal de Noailles, wrote a letter to the King, in which they complained of the sentence of the Council, and the Counsellors of Paris published a deliberation to the same effect. This deliberation was soon suppressed; as *containing propositions*

positions opposite to the doctrine of the Church, injurious to its authority, and contrary to the laws of the State; and the best answer that could be given to the letter, was the defection of the head of the party, who, six months after, by mandate, 11 Oct. accepted of the *Constitution Unigenitus*, condemned the book of *Moral Reflections*, and the hundred and one propositions that were extracted from it, revoked his pastoral instruction of the 14th of January 1719, and every thing that had been published in his name contrary to the present acceptation.

It is thus that the Cardinal de Noailles, hitherto respectable by his post, by his birth, and by his age, and estimable on account of his merit, of the uprightness of his intentions, and of the purity of his manners, tarnished in one instant the course of forty years of glory. The comparison of M. de Soanem's conduct with his, served only to make his weakness more conspicuous; he fell into contempt, and died at the end of six months. Grief, undoubtedly, contributed not a little to precipitate his end, for even the applause he gained from the *Constituents*, must only have served to make his shameful conduct more sensible to him. The Sorbonne, who had excluded from her society all the *Anti-Constitutionists*, sent deputies to congratulate him. The Pope, in the first transports of his joy, communicated this event to the sacred College, ordered thanksgivings to be offered up, caused the holy Sacrament to be exposed in all the great churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary, laid open the treasures of the church, and granted indulgences: the capital, in particular, felt the effects of this joyous event. The jubilee of the holy year, though open since the end of the year 1726, in all the rest of the kingdom, was refused at Paris, and in its diocese, on account of the leaven of heresy with which the Prelate was tainted. As soon as his Catholicism was ascertained, the Pope permitted to dispense the spiritual benefits of this holy season: they were not so fruitful as the Pontiff expected, and he soon received a mortification, which ought to have convinced him that Grace had not touched the hearts

of the Magistrates. In order to understand this quarrel properly, we must trace it from its origin.

The pretensions of Pope Gregory VII. his attempts against the temporal authority of Princes, his disputes with the Emperor Henry IV. the abuse he had made of his authority in excommunicating him, the fatal dissensions and cruel wars he had occasioned by deposing him; all these circumstances, I say, not having prevented Gregory XIII. in 1584, from placing this Pontiff in the list of Roman Martyrs—nor Paul V. from having had an office performed to his honour in 1609—nor Alexander VII. from introducing that office or legend in all the churches of Rome—nor Clement XI. from granting it to the Order of Citeaux, and to the Benedictines—nor, in short, Bennet XIII. from making it general throughout all Christendom, by a decree of the 27th of September 1728; the legend of

July Gregory VII. appeared in France, printed in the 1729. month of July, that is to say, at a time when the

Jubilee ought to have produced the greatest effect, and deserved the gratitude of the penitent Magistrates; but their hearts were too much hardened. The Parliament of Paris, unmovable in the only point of their resistance to the enterprises of the Court of Rome, upon obtaining the opinion of the King's Council, ordered the suppression of the legend, with prohibitions to the Clergy to make any use of it, under penalty of seizure of their temporalities. The Parliaments of Britany, of Metz, and of Bourdeaux, published similar decrees in their districts. The ecclesiastical joined itself to the secular power; several Bishops gave out mandates in their dioceses to forbid the recital of this office, especially the Bishops of Auxerre, of Montpellier, of Metz, of Troyes, of Verdun, of Castres, &c.

Pope Bennet XIII. notwithstanding his calmness and moderation, was piqued at so general an opposition. On the 17th of September, he caused a brief to be published, which condemned the mandate of the Bishop of Auxerre, whose name was Quelus, who became since so famous in the Jansenist party. The direct anathema pronounced against him by the Holy Father, contributed

contributed not a little to make him appear in a secondary light to M. de Senez. It was forbidden to read and even to keep his mandate, on pain of excommunication. This brief was impeached in Parliament on the 1st of December; but the Government, through deference and regard to the Pontiff, suspended the zeal and activity of that Court. A few days after, a second brief appeared, which broke and annulled all these acts of Justice, and decrees of Parliament against the Legend. It was not then any longer possible to keep silence: the Attorney General rose against this enterprise of the Court of Rome; he lodged an appeal against all the briefs published upon this occasion, as being incroachments of the ecclesiastical upon the civil jurisdiction; and on the 23d of February 1730, obtained a decree which declared them to be improper, contrary to the liberties of the Gallican Church, and which ordered them to be suppressed.

The flame was breaking out on all sides. One hundred Doctors, Appellants, had been expelled the Sorbonne, and the rest of them had accepted the *Constitution*, and declared, that it had been accepted by the Sorbonne since the 5th of March 1714.

This act had been followed by a decree of 15 Dec. 1729. the Body of Divinity, forbidding the Syndic to admit any Doctor, any licensed Batchelor, or even any candidate for the first degree, at the keeping of the divinity acts, till after they had signed a formulary annexed to the bottom of the decree, and the acceptance of the *Constitution Unigenitus*. By this decree, the Body of Divines granted to the expelled Doctors, living at Paris or in its districts, two months time to submit and give testimony of their sincere obedience; after which period, they declared them for ever erased from the list of their members.

The hundred expelled Doctors had appealed against the decree as an incroachment of power, and had complained to the Parliament. If this bold stroke had produced its proper effect, it would have made the party they were desirous of crushing, very triumphant. The Jesuits, who began to recover their influence, exerted

exerted their utmost activity to restrain that of the Court: they excited the Government dexterously to make a powerful diversion, which obliging the Parliament to employ themselves about their own interests, should make them lose sight of the other object, which they would sacrifice to their own safety. It was not till twenty-six years after, that they pronounced upon this decree, that is to say, when most of these illustrious confessors of their faith, had perished in captivity, in exile, or in the obscurity of their retirement. The Body of Divinity, thus deprived of its most enlightened and most intrepid members, received the burlesque appellation of *carcase*, an allegorical image of their null and passive state. It was no longer that scientific body, which was the oracle of France in points of doctrine, and whose decisions were respected and admired by all Europe and the Christian world: it was now an assemblage of pusillanimous members, intimidated by threats; or of ardently ambitious men, dazzled by promises; it was a meer image the springs of which were moved and directed by intrigue.

The diversion we have just mentioned, and which was employed against the Parliament, was a Bed of Justice, which his Majesty was made to hold at the Court, where he ordered to be registered in his presence the declaration for the execution of the *Constitution Unigenitus*, and of the other Bulls of the Pope, proscribing Jansenism. We have before seen that the Regent had twice endeavoured to legitimate in some measure, in France, this Tramontane production; but on the one hand the Grand Council was considered as an incompetent tribunal, and on the other, the Parliament had inserted some modifications. This time, the record was entered purely and simply, not without meeting with as much opposition. The Government had foreseen this, and therefore forbade that Company to deliberate at a Bed of Justice; which gave rise to some remonstrances upon the prohibition itself, intimated to the Company, and upon the frequent reference of causes to the Council, on affairs of its competency. This was the point to which they desired to bring the Parliament.

Parliament. Negotiations were set on foot; and, from the same kind of pacific spirit which regulated Cardinal Fleuri, they were persuaded to abandon the cause of the Doctors Appellants, by granting them something of their claims. The King sent a circular letter to the Bishops of France, in 22 July. which he exhorted them not to give to the Bull the title of *Rule of Faith*, but only that of *Judgment of the universal church upon points of doctrine*, and directed them not to ask any questions of the laity upon this matter.

This arrangement, which was merely a modification, as usual, dissatisfied both parties. The writings became more violent than ever, not only respecting the Bull, but upon a more important matter, upon the nature, extent, and limits of ecclesiastical authority, and of secular power. This great question was discussed even in the public disputations, and in particular and general assemblies of the bodies of all kinds. To stop the progress of so dangerous a liberty, the Printers were forbidden to print any thing clandestinely, or without permission; namely, against religion, ecclesiastical affairs, and the Bulls received in the kingdom, under severe and capital penalties; and as to authors, of whatsoever rank or quality they might be, his Majesty enjoined them an absolute silence upon such matters. Consequently, the King suppressed, by decree of Council, several works and mandates of Bishops, which were in opposition to this regulation; and the Parliament of Paris, to prevent the Court of Rome from extending its authority over the police of the State, ordered the suppression of two decrees of the Pope, one of which condemned a mandate of the Bishop of Montpellier, and the other, a book, entitled *the Life of M. Paris, Deacon*. We shall see hereafter who this M. Paris was. The Counsellors even, notwithstanding their privilege of printing freely their memorials, as long as they are confined to the exercise of their own functions, had the mortification to see one of theirs suppressed, which was signed by forty-two of them, and which had been composed for the defence of M. Cornet,

net, Rector of Olivet, in the diocese of Orleans, appellant against the orders of his Bishop, as abuses of authority. Some assertions rather too strong had escaped in this memorial, which, while they exalted the authority of Parliaments, seemed to weaken that of the Monarch. As all the Order of Counsellors professes the most implicit submission to the Royal authority, those who had subscribed their names to this deliberation, were as much concerned as they were astonished, that their fidelity should be suspected. They signed a declaration of their sentiments, in conformity to what has just been said, and protested against every contrary interpretation that might be given to the propositions contained in the memorial. The Minister received their repentance, and caused this declaration to be registered in a decree of Council, published to justify them.

October
1730.

The ecclesiastical power, not finding itself avenged by this circumstance, thought it must take its own cause in hand. M. de Vintimille, the Archbishop of Paris, who had succeeded the Cardinal de Noailles—a man not very warm upon these matters, but spurred on by the Jesuits who governed him—gave out a decree against the Lawyers of the Parliament of Paris, and in behalf of their brethern. The Lawyers had recourse to their victorious mode, of making an appeal, which they lodged in the parliament, against the Prelate's decree, as being an abuse of power. The Prelate had the cause brought before the Council of State, and at the same time distributed a memorial to justify himself, with which the Lawyers were offended. Incensed at seeing themselves, by this illegal and oppressive management, deprived of their natural judges, and fearing to be brought before others, whose ignorance, suppleness, and partiality they well knew, they had recourse to the extreme manœuvre of shutting up their closets. They ceased to work for the public, from the necessity they were under of being totally employed for themselves. This resolution displeased the Court, inasmuch as it tended to interest the public in favour of the Lawyers, of whom they were constantly in want. Ten

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of the most violent were banished. The affair was not settled till some time after, at the termination of an affair of the Parliament, of an infinitely more serious nature, and which was likewise occasioned by a presumptuous attempt to which this same Archbishop was prompted. 30 July.

Among the several pamphlets distributed with profusion, by the Jansenist party, there was one weekly production, which was particularly distinguished. It was written with as much wit and delicacy, as with bitterness, irony, and censure, against the acceptors, and was intitled, *Eccllesiastical News*. It had appeared in 1728, and has been continued without interruption to our days, in which it still subsists; but it is now fallen into contempt, either from the little importance of the matter, or from want of the same abilities in the writers, or rather from the general indifference that now prevails respecting all theological disputes. For the space of two years, in vain were inquiries made concerning the authors, printers, and distributors of this news-paper, which, nevertheless, appeared regularly every week. It is reported even, that once a wager was laid with M. Herault, Lieutenant of Police, that this paper should get into Paris at such a turnpike, on such a day, and at such an hour, and yet that it would escape the vigilance of the clerks. In fact, agreeably to these conditions, and especially at the appointed place, a man makes his appearance, who is stopped, and searched with the greatest strictness, but in vain. No notice was taken of a shagged dog he had along with him, and who was trained to this business. It was a common dog, who, under his coat, thick set with hair, carried a number of these light papers. The Magistrate laughed at the trick, and owned himself outwitted. At length he was more fortunate: one of the printers was discovered, condemned to the pillory, and banished, with three of his associates. This incident did not put the least stop to the publication of them; and it was judged, not without reason, that the Parliament, which was then composed of several Jansenists, piously protected them. To exculpate themselves to the King, they affected to treat

treat the work with rigour, and to disgrace it. They condemned five sheets of it to be torn and burnt by the hands of the hangman. They seemed thus to neglect the piper: but the Archbishop of Paris, having issued a mandate which pronounced its condemnation, the concurrence of these two authorities to destroy it, made it revive again, and from hence arose a division between the two powers, which the authors availed themselves of, and which was upon the point of producing the most fatal effects. The Parliament pretended to be disgusted with the Tramontane principles contained in the prelate's mandate, and considered it as reprehensible, more especially as twenty-two of the Clergy of Paris refused to publish it, and had written to M. de Vintimille a letter of arguments, containing the motives for their refusal: the mandate was impeached before the Chambers assembled. The persecuted party were comforted for the disgrace of their periodical libel, when they previously saw it the indirect but public cause, of a mortification, almost as great, with which the Archbishop of Paris was threatened. The capital, which had no events of any greater importance, to engage its attention, divided itself between the two parties.

1732. The Court also felt the shock, and was obliged to do the same. The Philosophers alone, who had not the influence they have since acquired, most of whom, besides, did not yet dare to shew themselves, laughed in secret at this miserable and ridiculous contest. Cardinal Fleuri could not possibly look upon it with indifference. Beside his inclination for Molinism; beside his own authority, which was called in question; beside the sincere and cordial hatred he bore the Jansenists, being also among the number of Prelates; he possessed that spirit of the order, which is more conspicuous in the Clergy than in any other set of men. He came to the assistance of his brother Prelate, and caused the King expressly to forbid the Parliament to take cognizance of any ecclesiastical matter without permission of his Majesty.

The Parliament deliberated upon these prohibitions; and, as they attacked their very essence, they concluded that they could not continue their functions, as
long

long as they should remain in force. M. Pucelle, a Counsellor whose name served as the watch-word to the party, and M. Titon, another Counsellor, whose zeal has so much degenerated since, having given their opinion with most force on this 19 May, occasion, were taken up by virtue of letters *de cachet*, and conveyed, one to his Abbey, the other to Vincennes; a stroke of authority, after which, the Parliament, according to custom, kept the Chambers assembled, that is to say, ceased to hear the causes of individuals, in order to attend entirely to its own. The King sent letters of command, enjoining this tribunal to resume their ordinary duties. They considered these letters as a tacit permission to enter into the plenitude of their functions, as much for civil as other affairs; they registered the letters, and, to obey the intentions of the Lord the King, they decreed that they would continue to take cognizance of all the affairs that are intrusted to them; and consequently put the mandate of the Archbishop of Paris into the hands of King's Council, to take their opinion upon it, and then condemned it by a decree, and declared it illegal. This act of vigour had been passed with great dispatch, in order not to give the Ministry time to oppose it. They revenged themselves by fresh exiles; Messieurs Robert, de Vrevins, de la Pantriere, and Ogier, were the victims of the dissatisfaction of the Court. The decree of the Parliament was annulled by a decree of Council. This decree of Council was read to a deputation from the Parliament, summoned to Compiègne, there to receive the signification of his Majesty's will and pleasure, with an absolute prohibition to all the members of the Company, to propose any thing to his Majesty, that can impede the execution of his orders.

All the officers of the Parliament, upon hearing what had passed at Compiègne, 20 June, took the resolution to resign. They were not yet accustomed, at Versailles, to this very troublesome event: the young Monarch was alarmed at it, and the Cardinal was involuntarily drawn into a series of violent and tyrannic acts, equally repugnant to his moderation and age; and still more so to the extreme
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desire he had of pleasing his Royal Pupil, of sparing his sensibility, and of avoiding to mark the beginning of his reign by resignations; he therefore proposed terms, to appease these several commotions. The

Parliament resumed the course of justice, but 9 July. decreed that remonstrances should be made.

These remonstrances did not produce the desired effect. During this interval they gave a decree, ordering the suppression of some prints, which appearing under the name of *the Nuncio*, and giving permission to some individuals, to read certain forbidden books, seemed to establish in France a jurisdiction annexed to the character of the Pope's Nuncio: this was the motive of the decree, which only served the more to incense the partizans of the Court of Rome. This circumstance furnished an opportunity of giving the Cardinal to understand how dangerous it was to hazard the authority of the King, by giving way to the Parliament; and how much the boldness of that Court, and of the Jansenist party, was increased by it; so that this mildness, instead of quieting the ferment in people's minds, encouraged it; and the Cardinal, far from crushing the Appellants, as he intended, was not even able to preserve the equilibrium, which had been the sole object of the system of Cardinal Dubois and the Regent; a salvo was proposed to him, calculated, as it was pretended, to cut off the evil at its root, by restraining the activity of the Parliament. The Cardinal was deceived, and adopted it.

The King answered these remonstrances 18 Aug. by a declaration, which regulated the manner in which public affairs were for the future to be treated in that Court, and ordered that Appeals concerning improper jurisdictions, should be carried up to the Great Chamber only, and not the Chambers assembled. The design of this arrangement, which appears at first sight to be merely matter of form, and tending to expedite business, was, by thus concentrating the deliberations into one Chamber, to diminish the number of votes, and by that means be better able to corrupt or intimidate the voters. Besides, the

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Grand Chamber being chiefly composed of pusillanimous old men, of fathers of families eager for Court favour, and of Ecclesiastics aspiring to livings, the Ministry almost insured their suffrages, by distributing favours among those chiefs who had the most influence. The Courts of Inquests, and Requests, were not the dupes of a regulation which annulled them in one entire part of their functions; and, as they were infinitely more numerous than the Grand Chamber, the refusal of registering was carried by a great majority of votes, and the King was intreated to withdraw the declaration, as being too contrary to the real interests of his Majesty.

The Cardinal thought that a Bed of Justice would again set every thing to rights: the King summoned the Parliament to Versailles, caused this law to be registered in his presence, with some money edicts, to which, in a similar circumstance, the Magistrates would have been little inclined to accede. The next day the Parliament protested, both against the place in which the Bed of Justice had been holden, and against the registers that had been made there: they decreed that they would not cease to represent to the King the impossibility of executing the Declaration of the 18th of August, which changes the state and essence of the Company; and declared further, that they would again remain in a Committee till the restoration of their disgraced members, whom they had asked for in vain: in a word, they refused to register the Declaration for the establishment of the Chamber of Vacations. Upon which, on the 7th of December, all the Presidents and Counsellors of the Courts of Inquests and Requests were banished. The Grand Chamber was appointed, by letters *de cachet*, to hold the Chamber of Vacations: this Chamber had too great obligations to the Court, which seemed to act in its favour—merely in order to support and to extend its superiority over the other Chambers—not to register with docility the Declaration which appointed them.

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Nevertheless, so many strokes of authority, which one might have judged to announce a vigour in the Ministry, that they were far from having, could not conquer the resistance of the obstinate; and it was necessary to have recourse to some modifications, in order to conciliate the different interests of the Court and of the Company. The result of negotiations of this kind, was the same as that which frequently happens from political negotiations after a long war: the parties find themselves just as they were when the contest began. All the banished persons were recalled; the Parliament resumed its seat on the 1st of December; they decreed a deputation to the King, to thank his Majesty, and to condole with him upon the death of the King of Sardinia, his great grandfather; and his Majesty consented, on the most humble petition of the Deputies, that the Declaration, which was the sole object of dispute, should not take place.

If the Molinists abused strangely of their access to the Minister, to confuse and inflame matters, in the hope of more effectually tormenting their enemies, the latter had recourse to means more farcical indeed, but not less dangerous, on account of the ferment they excited; and which, being blended with the spirit of religion, might rise to the most violent tumults. The hero they chose for their purpose was a Deacon of the parish of St. Medard, named Paris, a man of a good family, being the son of a Counsellor of the Grand Chamber, and brother to a Counsellor of the Court of Inquests; but a simple and modest man, one of those devout persons, necessary to all sects, to impose upon fools and credulous people, because fanaticism moulds them at pleasure: he died an Appellant and Re-appellant. An historian not less stupid than him-

1 May self, and equally zealous for Jansenism,
1727. wrote his life, in which, among other edifying circumstances, we read, that he sometimes passed two entire years without receiving the sacrament at Easter; that in a codicil signed a little time before his death, he had divided his fortune among some poor priests, in order to remove from them

them the temptation of saying mass often; that in his infancy he delighted to burn straw in a chimney, in order to set fire to the College of Nanterre; that at ten years of age he began to give a great deal of trouble to his masters, who revenged themselves by exercising his patience; that he was afterwards twice expelled from his father's house, and then partly disinherited; that he had learnt to make stockings at the loom; that he had kept himself far from the altar, and from every ecclesiastical ministry; that he had confined himself to teach the catechism to children, and to hold conferences with the young clergy; that above all things, he cordially hated the Jesuits, and that a little time before his death, he had uttered these prophetic words; *One cannot unmask them too much.*

Such was the new object whom the Jansenists wanted to canonize; and, as miracles are the touchstone of sanctity, they failed not to ascribe some to him, and to print the catalogue of them. A celebrated Magistrate of the party, M. Carré de Montgeron, a Counsellor in Parliament, in a volume which he himself presented to the King, collected the witnesses which proved the great certainty of these prodigies, and a short time after he was confined for this extravagance. This did not prevent twenty-three Clergymen of Paris from certifying several of them, in two petitions addressed to M. de Vintimille; M. de Colbert, Bishop of Montpellier, and M. de Caylus, Bishop of Auxerre, published solemnly two of these miracles, operated in their dioceses, by the same interference; and before them, the Cardinal de Noailles had had some of them proved by juridical informations.

It is true, that the miracles of M. Paris were of a peculiar kind. Those who invoked him upon his tomb were tormented with horrible agitations, worse than the diseases of which they might require to be cured. Hence proceeded the title of *Convulsions*, given to these to distinguish them from the ancient miracles, and the name of *Convulsionaries*, bestowed upon those who were thrown into the state above-mentioned.

This would certainly have been nothing, if the cures had been real; but the adversaries did not fail to contest them, and even to cast bitter jests upon this modern worker of miracles. In one instance, said they*, it is a girl delivered of a kind of dropsy, which disappears without miracle in the ordinary course of nine months. In another, it is an eye restored, which an oculist had offered to cure, but with the loss of the other eye, the cure of which the same oculist had not ventured to promise. In a third instance, it is a lame Canon, who can go about every where, except to divine service, where he is never seen. In the fourth, it is a clumsy impostor, who comes to the tomb lame of one leg, and who, by the contortions he throws himself into, returns lame of both legs. In a word, even the cure of Ann le Franc, so much boasted of, does not bear the test of examination. The account of her disease and cure, as it has been stated, was solemnly contradicted by the aunt, the brother, the sister, and even the mother of this girl, by the two surgeons who had had the care of her, by thirty-four witnesses, and by the juridical deposition of two physicians and three surgeons, sworn as examiners, and who contradicted the fact. The Archbishop of Paris proscribed her by a mandate, in which he pronounces, that the credulity of the people is evidently abused. The girl, who was the subject of the miracle, was compelled to an appeal.

Mankind is so eager after the marvellous, that the concourse of people at the tomb of M. Paris soon became immense; it continued and increased during near five years. This is the only miracle that was wrought there. Is it possible, in fact, to conceive the stupidity of the spectators, who, blind to the proofs of falsity, quackery, and gross imposition, which they had constantly before their eyes, pleased themselves in an error, which was contradicted by the continual testimony of their senses? Is it still more possible to conceive,

* See a memorial touching the virtues and miracles of M. Paris, a Deacon, buried at St. Medard, in the parish of Paris, on the 3d of May 1727.

conceive, that there should have arisen in the minds of men, and even among Divines, a notable division in the mode of thinking upon this matter, whether upon the whole of the event, or its several parts; and that this diversity of thinking should have produced more than twelve or fourteen volumes in quarto, for and against; that all, or almost all these writers, should agree upon the authenticity of the facts; that some of them only should have attempted to prove, that they were merely the effects of nature, and of its unknown operations; while the Doctors of our religion, on the contrary, were united in ascribing them to some præternatural agent, and differed only about the species? Some of them clearly perceived the hand of God in them; others, the operations of the Devil. Posterity could not believe these absurdities, if they were not under its own inspection. The delirium was so great, that M. de Vintimille published seriously a prohibition, to forbid the invocation of M. Paris, who was not yet canonized; that an appeal of improper jurisdiction was made against his mandate; that four celebrated Lawyers signed the deliberation; and that the Parliament did not reject this appeal, which remained there for ever depending. Authority was obliged to come to the assistance of the Prelate, and to prevent any subterfuge, or disobedience to these prohibitions, and moreover to put a stop to the scandal, and to the mob that resorted to the tomb—which was become a continual source of licentious discourses, thieving, and libertinism. Agreeable to the verbal process stated upon the testimony, examination, and inquiry after the *Convulsionaries*, an order was issued from the King, on the 27th of January 1732, to shut up, and keep shut, the gate of the little church-yard of St. Medard; to prohibit the opening of it for any other purpose but burying; and to forbid all persons, of what rank or condition soever, to assemble in the streets or houses adjacent, under the penalty of disobedience, and even of exemplary punishment. We shall see hereafter what this ordinance produced. We shall only observe here, that the day

after the shutting up the church-yard, the following Pasquinade of the Janfenists was fixed upon the gate:

The King commands, that on this spot
No miracles by God be wrought*.

We now draw near to that period, when our attention will be more particularly taken up with the young King, and his domestic affairs; we shall see the seeds of the passions beginning to expand in him, which, being fomented by depraved Courtiers, spoiled the goodness of his heart, and brought confusion in his kingdom. He was still in that amiable age, when all objects are striking by their novelty; when all parade and shew is pleasing to us; and when even the most childish circumstances are interesting. It was an amusing festival to his Majesty, to arm the Chevalier Morosini, the Venetian Ambassador; to dub him, according to the antient custom; and to make him a present of a very rich sword, and a belt of gold stuff, while the other Senators were only a black one.

But nothing can equal the joy he expressed at the Queen's being with child, and at the happiness of becoming a father. This joy was certainly rather damped the two first times of the Queen's delivery, when only two Princesses were presented to his embraces. He took the resolution, in concert with his august Queen, to address their prayers to Heaven for a Dauphin. On the 8th of December 1728, they both offered up to God, in a special manner, their wishes, and those of the people; and by express agreement, as the Queen hath several times declared †, they received the sacrament together in the same design. Their pious intentions did not rest here; for at the end of nine months, her Majesty brought the late Dauphin into the world. This wished-for event dis-

fused

* De par le Roi, défense à Dieu
De plus opérer en ce lieu.

† See "The Life of the Dauphin, father of Lewis XVI. written from the Memoirs of the Court," presented to the King and the Royal Family by the Abbé Proyart.

used a general joy, among a people accustomed to idolize their rulers. Thanksgivings were publicly offered up to God. The King assisted at the Te Deum, which was sung at the Church of Paris; and supped afterwards at the Hotel-de-Ville, with the Princes of the Blood, and several Noblemen. Turgot, the Provost of the Merchants, waited upon his Majesty; and the Sheriffs, and other officers, attended the Princes. When the Queen was recovered, had acquitted herself of a vow she had made upon occasion of her happy delivery, and had in her turn given thanks to Heaven—which, however, did not prevent her, some years after, from taking a journey to Notre Dame de Chartres, to consecrate, in a peculiar manner, to the Holy Virgin, the young Prince, whom she always considered as a special mark of her protection—the most brilliant festivals were given to the public in the capital, and this example was imitated throughout all the cities in the kingdom. The joy which prevailed universally in France, communicated itself even to foreign kingdoms. The birth of this Prince confirmed the tranquility of Europe. The States General made a present of a gold medal, of one hundred ducats * value, to the messenger dispatched with this news to the Hague, by M. Van Hoey, their Ambassador. One was also stricken at Paris, upon which were represented the King and Queen. On the reverse was the Earth, seated upon a globe, and holding the Dauphin in her arms, with this legend: *Vota Orbis*, the wishes of the universe.

The arrival of the Duke de Lorraine at Paris, in the beginning of the following year, to swear allegiance, and do homage to the King, for the dutchy of Bar, and all the other domains he possessed belonging to the Crown, displayed another kind of spectacle, that must necessarily have given him the highest idea of his own grandeur. Two years before, he had had the experience of such a kind of parade, when the Envoys of Tunis were admitted to an audience, and offered satisfaction, and the excuses of that Govern-

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ment,

* Near fifty pounds.

ment, respecting their infractions of the treaties made with his Majesty. He had accepted of their word, in the name of the Republic, that nothing should in future be done to displease him. Thus the Cardinal took care, from time to time, to contrive a pompous display of power, calculated to flatter the puerile vanity of a young Prince, while he himself possessed all the real authority. It was he who created or disgraced the other Ministers. At the death of M. le Blanc, he appointed M. d'Angervilliers, Intendant of Paris, Sec-

retary of State for the war department; he
 19 May had previously recalled from exile M. d'Aguesseau, who, immediately on his return to
 1728. Versailles, had resumed the duties of his office at the delivery of the Queen, but who always remained without the Seals, notwithstanding the disgrace of M. d'Armenonville, who had been
 15 Aug. succeeded by M. Chauvelin, President à Mortier of the Parliament of Paris, to whom the
 1727. Ministerial department for foreign affairs was
 17 March also intrusted. He at last gave the care of
 1729. the finances to M. Orry, his creature.

But all these would have been nothing more than gleams of transitory power, if the Cardinal had not taken care to remove from his Royal Pupil, those persons whose genius, birth, or character, might have alarmed his ambition, or who might insensibly have supplanted him.

Since he had occasioned the disgrace of the Duke of Bourbon, the persons he was then most apprehensive of at Court, among the Princes of the blood, were first, the Count de Charolois, equally famous for the ferocity of his manners †, as for the extent of his knowledge:

† It is a constant tradition, that this Prince, in his youth, took a dreadful and barbarous pleasure in killing a man, as children do in crushing a fly. But when he went to ask his pardon, he always represented the murder as the effect of an unlucky mischance, or of necessity. On one of these occasions, when the King was giving him his pardon, he said to him: "Here it is; but I declare to you at the same time, that I have a pardon ready for any one who shall kill you."

ledge: next, the Prince of Conti, full of wit, amiable, insinuating, brave, delighting in war, lively, jealous of his rank, and prodigal to excess; of him, it is told, that his equerry coming to him one day, to acquaint him that there was no forage in his stable, he sent for his steward, who excused himself by saying, that there was no more money in the treasurer's hands, and that he could get no more credit from the person who used to supply him; all the other tradesmen of your Highness, added he, refuse also to give credit, except your Cook; *Well then*, says the Prince, *you must feed my horses with chickens*: and lastly, the Cardinal dreaded the Duke du Maine, whose talents for administration, love of money, and submission to his wife, were known, and had given umbrage even to the Regent.

Fortunately, the King's inclinations induced him to attach himself to the Count de Clermont, who had been brought up with him, and who was almost of his own age; a heavy Prince, of weak understanding, and addicted to nothing but festivals, pleasures, and women; and to the Count of Toulouse, a Prince not of bright parts, but of exquisite judgment, of very regular manners, not moved by any strong passion; he was moreover very circumspect, and too much ashamed of his disproportionate marriage, the declaration of which he had obtained, to set himself against the Cardinal who governed.

The Princesses who deserved the Monarch's attachment at that time, did not appear more dangerous to the Prime Minister. The Queen was at the head of them. She was in intire possession of the heart of her august husband; she alone delighted him, and desired no other happiness. She had already given herself up to devotion, but of a mild kind, without fanaticism; so that the Priests who might have been disposed to intrigues, acquired but little ascendant over her. Beside, she was under the direction of a Jesuit, and their society was devoted to the Cardinal, who encouraged all their fury against the Jansenists. Lewis XV. tasted also the sweets of a tender friendship with Mademoiselle de Charolois, and the Countess of Toulouse. Though

Mademoiselle de Charolois was sister to the Duke of Bourbon, and daughter to the Grand Dutcheſs, his mother, ſhe was not of their cabals. Formed for pleaſure from her youth, by the beauty and graces ſhe poſſeſſed, ſhe was endowed with an exquisite ſenſibility, which turned itſelf entirely to love : ſhe had had a number of admirers, and brought forth children almoſt every year, with little more ſecrecy than an opera-girl ; though, to keep up appearances, it was ſaid ſhe was ill, during the ſix weeks of her confinement ; and the whole Court, which perfectly underſtood the matter, uſed to ſend to inquire after her health. Once ſhe had a Swiſs at her gate, who, not being trained to this management, uſed to answer, without ceremony, to thoſe who came: *The Princeſs is as well as can be expected, and the child too.*

The ſiſters of this Princeſs were not more ſcrupulous ; M. de Maulevrier-Langeron was the declared lover of Mademoiselle de Sens, and M. de Melun, of Mademoiselle de Clermont. The laſt-mentioned gentleman was killed a hunting in the wood of Boulogne, by a fallow-deer. Mademoiselle de Clermont was of a very indolent diſpoſition, which made the Grand Dutcheſs ask if this news had given her any emotion.

Mademoiselle de Charolois was ſuppoſed to be ſecretly married to a Nobleman of the firſt rank *, but whom, on account of that etiquette to which the moſt auguſt perſons are ſo abſolutely ſubordinate, ſhe could not obtain to have openly declared for her huſband. This circumſtance held them both in the Cardinal's power, and the hopes of prevailing upon him to obtain the conſent of his Maſteſty, neceſſarily attached them to his party.

Mademoiselle de Charolois was intimately connected with the Counteſs of Toulouſe, whoſe marriage, nearly of the ſame kind, being declared, ſeemed to intitle her to the ſame privilege, at leaſt to a toleration, if political views were too repugnant to making it public, for fear of the conſequences : though theſe two Ladies differed from each other in many particulars, the firſt being

being addicted to gallantry, and the other a devotee; that the one loved riot, shew, and noisy amusements, and the other delighted in the country, in retirement, and in calmer pleasures, yet they agreed perfectly in other things. Besides, interest, which forms and keeps up so many connections, prompted Mademoiselle de Charolois to entertain her friendship with the Countess, since it enabled her to obtain, for herself and her creatures, all the favours she asked of the King.

Lewis XV. went often to hunt at Rambouillet, a feat of the Count of Toulouse, who, since his marriage, used to pass great part of the year there. This delicious retreat was infinitely agreeable to him, to relax himself from the fatigues of a busy Court—to relieve him from the weight of greatness, which became cumbersome to him as soon as he felt it—and to enable him to lay aside the Monarch. In a word, it was an affectionate friend, who came to pass some days in delightful familiarity with his friend: a small company of Ladies and Courtiers accompanied him, and partook of this intimacy. In the day-time, the fallow-deer, with which the immense park abounded, were the unremitting objects of pursuit. This violent exercise, which was at first a mere passion with Lewis XV. was imperceptibly become necessary for his health, which would have been affected by a stagnation of humours, and for his mind, which was inclined to melancholy. In the evening, he dissipated himself at play, and renewed his strength at the table, for the indulgences of which, his exercise gave him the higher relish. There he was contented, because he was free; he was lively, amiable, enlivened the conversation, readily fell in with the sprightliness of Mademoiselle de Charolois, and was pleased with the witty, refined, and delicate sallies of the Countess of Toulouse, who had served as a mother to him, who had, in some measure, brought him forward in the world, and, by encouraging him to get rid of his timidity, had taught him to speak, and to speak with propriety; he was attentive to address himself to every one, and to put this little Court perfectly at ease: in a word, as he was himself satisfied with

with the several guests, he endeavoured to be agreeable to them in return.

We shall make mention of one anecdote only, to give an idea of the familiarity that reigned in this society. One of the Ladies, who was with child, was suddenly seized with previous pains, announcing an approaching labour. The company was alarmed, and, as the Lady could not be conveyed to Paris, a man-midwife was sent for in great haste. The King was under the greatest anxiety. "In short," said his Majesty, "if the operation presses, who will take it upon him?" M. de la Peyronie, the first Surgeon, answered, "*I will, Sir; I have delivered women before.*—*Very well,* said Mademoiselle de Charolois, "*but this business requires practice, and you have perhaps forgotten.*—*Don't be in the least uneasy,* Mademoiselle," answered he, rather piqued at a doubt which hurt his vanity; "*one forgets no more how to take them out, than how to put them in.*" Her Highness, highly incensed, coloured, and left the room, for fear of giving vent to her indignation before the King. The Surgeon was sensible of the indecency, or rather the impudence of his reply, and, notwithstanding all his wit, was much embarrassed, till, turning his abashed countenance to the King, he saw him smile, which removed his apprehensions. Mademoiselle de Sens was soon prevailed upon to laugh at this matter, as well as the King.

The Cardinal was without anxiety when he knew the King was at the place we have been mentioning: so great was his security, that, though a particular friend of the Count of Toulouse, yet he declined making one in these parties, on account of his age, and the diet he observed. But, without being present at the festivals, he knew what was going forward there; he knew that in these private journeys, the Princesses, availing themselves of their influence with his Majesty, obtained every thing they solicited for: but they solicited with discretion. No favour was granted there without his being apprized of it; thus

he directed even the favours of the Monarch, without his suspecting it.

It was in these small councils holden at Rambouillet, between the august persons assembled there, and especially under the influences of the Princesses, that the survivorship of the office of Admiral, and of the governments belonging to the Count of Toulouse, was managed for his son the Duke of Penthièvre, still an infant, to the prejudice of the Princes of the blood; that the Countess of Toulouse was incessantly labouring to promote the fortunes of her children of the first bed, the Duke and the Marquis of Antin; that she obtained for them the most distinguished favours; that she prevailed at last so as to have one of them recalled from exile, who, by an imprudence which his youth could only excuse, had entered into a plot, the design of which, was to destroy the Prime Minister; a crime which persons in his situation seldom forgive. It was in these private conversations that the disgrace of M. Chauvelin, then Keeper of the Seals, and Minister for foreign affairs, was prepared long before. It was here, in a word, that Lewis XV. began, as it was thought, to disclose his rising inclination for the sex; and, it being apprehended that he would consult only his eyes and his heart, in raising up to the rank of favourite some young, beautiful, and ambitious woman, capable of governing him, it was imagined to be most expedient for the common interest, to determine his inclinations in favour of the Countess of Mailli, who was possessed of none of those qualities that were to be feared; but who was a woman in whom confidence might be reposed, and from whom care was taken to extort a promise, that she would confine herself to the single honours of the handkerchief, and would not attempt any thing with her Royal lover without the concurrence of those persons whom she knew to have the confidence and esteem of that Prince. We shall successively unfold these intrigues, as much as they deserve: but let us dwell for a moment upon the beneficent administration of Cardinal Fleury, who availed himself of peace to re-establish the finances, either by
a general

a general and continued œconomy—which the disappointed Courtiers called parsimony, and sordid avarice, but which was a necessary measure, for without it, all the others became useless—or by making commerce and the arts flourish, which are the real and fruitful sources of the opulence of a State.

The circumstance which proves that the œconomy of the Prime Minister was enlightened and well-judged, is, that he knew how to lavish his money when there was a necessity for it, and when he foresaw that the funds, opportunely advanced, would produce one hundred fold. As soon as he came into administration, he hastened to concur in the re-establishment of the city of Saint Menesould, burnt in 1719. In consequence of the orders of the King, which he issued with dispatch, M. Lescapier, Intendant of the province of Champagne, caused the lines of it to be traced, and
 9 Aug. laid the first stone, in which was put a silver
 1726. medal, with an inscription, to transmit to posterity the event, and the name of the Monarch who was the founder and benefactor.

He issued an order from the King, for the establishment of six companies of cadets, composed
 26 Dec. each of one hundred Gentlemen, who were
 1726. to be commanded by experienced officers, instructed by the ablest masters in the military art, and formed by them to all the exercises suitable to Nobility. Thus he laid the foundation of the Military School, since substituted to this establishment, which had been soon suppressed by M. Belleisle, from a motive of private animosity.

Sensible of the importance of the services of the officers of the army, and of the necessity that the rewards given by the King should be exactly paid, he caused his Majesty to grant to the Order of
 Edit of Saint Louis 70.000 livres * revenue upon the
 May, Royal treasure, in increase of a fund to supply the payment of the pensions granted to
 1730. the Knights of that Order. This increase of expence was easily made up, by the suppression, for
 the

* Near three thousand pounds.

the second time, of the post of Colonel General of French infantry, which the Duke of Orléans had resigned on the 3d of December 1731. It was the Regent who had renewed this dignity for his son. Beside the œconomy of suppressing it, the person who held it was deprived of an immense power, and so much the more dangerous in the hands of a subject, as he who is in possession of it must of course be more elevated, and nearer to the throne.

In the same year, he established three peaceable camps, all composed of cavalry; because these parades, though expensive, are necessary to form the troops to the manœuvres of war, and to maintain them in the practice of them. They were opened in the month of July: one upon the Sambre, commanded by the Prince of Tingry; another upon the Maaze, by the Count of Belleisle; and the third upon the Saone, under the orders of the Duke of Levy. The Duke of Lorraine went, with all his Court, to see that upon the Maaze; where the General received him as a Sovereign, and in a manner worthy of him whom he represented.

Although the Cardinal may justly be accused of having neglected the navy, yet he knew of what utility it might be, and employed it with dignity against the people of Barbary. He sent out from Toulon a squadron of thirteen sail, under the command of Commodore Grandpré. This Commander being arrived before Tripoli, and the people having refused to give the satisfactions required for the insults committed against the French trade, he bombarded the city, and destroyed the greatest part of it. He reduced these pirates, who sent the next year a deputation to implore his Majesty's pardon.

A few years after, he sent off a squadron, commanded by le Bailli de Vétan, which anchored at two leagues from Genoa, and so intimidated the Senate, that they deputed one of their members to compliment the Commander, and prevent the effects of the just indignation of the King, by paying the price of a French vessel that had been insulted and burnt by a privateer of the Republic.

The

The establishment of the Council Royal
 23 May, of Commerce, which he substituted to the
 1730. mere Council of Commerce, settled since the
 year 1720, is a proof of the attention which
 the Prime Minister paid to this branch of administration,
 and the repute he held it in. He ordered that this
 Council should be holden every fortnight, in presence of
 his Majesty, who was desirous of attending himself to
 this important part of government. Sensible how much
 communications by water are favourable to trade, and
 saving of expence, he had previously occasioned the la-
 bours to be begun for digging the canal of Picardy; la-
 bours which have since been interrupted, and resumed
 by the famous Laurent. After the death of this artist,
 this project had again been quitted, though it was upon
 the point of being completed, and that the province
 was incessantly expecting to have enjoyed the advan-
 tage of it, when war for the third time put a stop to
 this useful and important enterprize. In 1728, M. de
 August Maulevrier, Colonel of the regiment of Picardy,
 1728. gave the first stroke of the pick-ax in this
 business, at the head of his regiment.

If by a little act of parsimony natural to old-age, and
 which is less to be attributed to the Cardinal than to
 the Comptroller General Pelletier Desforts, he seemed
 to thwart that great establishment of the Regent's, in
 1719, for the gratuitous-education of youth; if he op-
 posed the just claims of the University, by retrenching
 a part of the revenue granted to them for this purpose,
 and by cavilling insidiously upon the treaty made with
 that body*, he repaired the injury done to the arts
 and sciences, by signal marks of protection in other cir-
 cumstances. We shall not enter into an enumeration of
 all

* The agreement made with the University, in 1719, was,
 that on the union of their posts with the posts royal, his Majesty
 would grant in perpetuity to them the twenty-eighth part of the
 value of the general farm of the posts throughout the kingdom.
 Since that time, although this farm has been considerably increas-
 ed, yet the Government would never grant to the Body of Arts,
 any more than the sum collected from the first farm. See "the
 " most humble and most respectful representations of the Univer-
 " sity of Paris to the King, in 1755."

all the favours he bestowed upon them, which would take up too much room in this history ; but shall only notice a few events, too important to be omitted.

Since the year 1721, the King had ordered that ten young French children should be educated, at his expence, at the Jesuits' college in Paris, and instructed in the Latin and Oriental tongues, to serve as interpreters to the Consuls in the sea-port towns on the Levant. Before the education of these children, commonly called *Armenians*, the Ministers and subjects of his Majesty were exposed to the ignorance, dishonesty, and perfidy of foreign interpreters. The Cardinal rendered this, which was merely a political establishment, a literary one also, by forming a college at Constantinople, where the books of the country were to be translated. The translations, together with their originals, were deposited in the King's library. In 1729, the Abbé Surin had been sent to Constantinople, and over all the Levant, to buy up the several Greek, Turkish, Arabian, or Persian manuscripts he could collect. Thus the library, in 1732, was augmented with the inestimable treasure of ten thousand manuscripts. A medal was struck to celebrate and record this fact. Six learned persons, or men of distinction in the literary world, were moreover attached to this library, that they might be continually on the search for books proper to increase it, each in their respective departments.

The King's garden, so famous at this day, attracted the attention of the Cardinal: it was he who determined his Majesty to take particular care of this spot ; for this purpose to put it under the department of the Secretary of State of his household *, and to trust, the first time, the direction of it to M. Dufay, a man of distin-

* Lewis XIII. by an edict of the month of January 1626, registered in Parliament in the month of July of the same year, established the Royal Botanic Garden, and at the same time united the superintendence of it to the post of first physician ; but it was afterwards separated from it by a declaration, of the 31st of March 1718, and the title of Superintendant was changed to that of Intendant.

distinguished learning, and member of the Academy of Sciences. The garden, which had hitherto been neglected, then began to flourish. Considerable expences were made, as much for collecting from all sides a great number of simples, plants, and foreign shrubs, as for the construction of buildings and hot-houses necessary to preserve them. Soon after, a very fine cabinet of natural history, and two herbals, more complete than any that had ever been in Europe, excited general admiration. Courses of Botany, Chymistry, and Anatomy, were instituted gratis every year, at which all individuals, desirous of instruction in any of these sciences, might assist; and it is in this school that the number of illustrious men, who have appeared in France in these branches, have been formed.

But the circumstance that will render his administration ever memorable in the history of the sciences, is the execution of that bold design of determining the figure of the earth; a point of so great importance to navigation. In order to effect this, it was necessary to measure a degree of the meridian under the Pole, and another under the Equator. The Prime Minister spared no expence for this purpose; he readily followed the impulse of the Count de Maurepas, then Secretary of State for the Marine department, who gave him to understand that no conjuncture could ever be more favourable than the present, for this project; that it was only practicable under the reign of a Prince, as powerful, and as much respected by other Sovereigns, as he was a lover of the sciences, and a patron of commerce. The Astronomers, to the number of three, designed for the South, were Mess. *Bouguer*, *Godin*, and *de la Condamine*, who set out the first, in 1733; Mess. *de Maupertuis*, *Clairault*, *Camus*, and *le Monnier*, sent to the North, having a shorter voyage to make, did not set out till the year 1736, and returned in 1737, after having erected at Tornea, on the confines of Lapland, by permission of the King of Sweden, a pyramid, as a monument of their labours and their glory. One year was sufficient for their observations,

servations, but they were obliged to employ another in travelling, and endeavouring to subdue nature in these inhospitable climates.

At first they sought for a proper place for their operations*: they found none on the borders of the gulph of Bothnia: they were obliged to go a great way into the inland country; they were forced to reascend the river of Tornea, from the city of Torno to the north of the gulph, as far as the mountain of Kiltes, beyond the Polar circle. They had then to preserve themselves from those terrible flies which are the terror of the Laplanders, which draw blood at every sting, and which, if a number of them were to fix upon a man, would soon destroy him. They infested all their provisions. The birds of prey likewise, which are very numerous and very bold in these climates, sometimes carried away the victuals that were served up to these Academicians, who were like Æneas in the midst of the harpies.

The cataracts of a river were then to be crossed; their way was to be cut, with hatchet in hand, through an immense forest, which obstructed their passage, and prevented their operations. The mountains were all to be climbed; the tops of them were all to be cleared of the birch, fir, and other trees that concealed them from sight; higher edifices were to be raised upon their tops, with signals fit to be seen at the distance of several leagues, in order to determine the necessary triangles. A basis was to be fixed, capable of being measured, upon a river frozen over, and covered several feet thick with a fine dry snow, like small sand, which slipped under the feet, and concealed from the eye precipices which might have buried any one under it.

It was also necessary to support a degree of cold so exquisite and intense, that the inhabitants of the country, though accustomed to its sharpness, sometimes lose an arm or a leg by it. Brandy was the only liquor
that

* See the works of M. Godin, intituled, "To the Manes of
" Lewis XV."

that did not freeze there. If the vessel out of which they drank it, was held close to the lips, the cold used to fix it there, and it was necessary to tear the lips to pull them asunder.

Nothing discouraged the Academicians. They each of them made their respective observations in private, which all coincided with a degree of precision that determined their accuracy. After all these attentions, troubles, and labours, they were shipwrecked on the gulph of Bothnia, and were near losing their lives, and the fruits of this hazardous and laborious undertaking.

The Academicians who went to Peru, experienced still greater obstacles: they reckoned that they should not stay above four years out of their country, but they were obliged to remain abroad ten years. The inhabitants seemed to act in concert with nature, to thwart and to torment them. They were accompanied by M. de Jussieu, a botanist; M. de Seniergues, a surgeon; M. Hugo, a watchmaker, and mathematical instrument-maker; M. Verguin, draughtsman for the plans and charts, and M. de Morainville, draughtsman for the natural history.

They had recommendations from the King of France to all the Governors of foreign places, and passports from the King of Spain. They were provided with money and bills of exchange. In a word, every thing that can insure the success of a voyage, and make it useful and convenient, had been attended to and prepared.

After a long, troublesome, and perilous voyage, M. de la Condamine did, in some measure, first take possession of the country in the name of the sciences. He engraved upon the rock of Palmar the following inscription in Latin: *It has been found by astronomical observations, that this promontory is situated under the Equator.* This prelude is followed by fresh difficulties to get to Quito, and the reader will be frightened at the bare recital of them, independent of their fatigues, which nothing could equal but their patience. The money of the Academicians now began to fail; they

they were obliged to raise, some upon their effects, and they were accused of smuggling, for having sold their shirts; upon which an action was brought against them. They at last succeeded so far as to establish their signals upon the tops or upon the inclination of thirty-nine mountains, in an extent of fourscore leagues, having begun a little on this side the Equator, and ended three degrees on the other side of it.

The series of their triangles reached from Căbaraurow, to the north of Quito, as far as Chinan, to the south of Cuença.

Their labours were not yet finished, when, as they were assisting at a bull-fight, the populace rose up against them, threatening to destroy them. M. Seniergues alone, conjecturing the cause of this tumult, put himself in a posture of defence; he checked, for a moment, these furious people, and at first drove them back; but continuing still to resist them with intrepidity, he fell, pierced with wounds, at the feet of the Academicians, who carried him off, covered with blood, while they at the same time defended themselves against these unforeseen hostilities.

Love was the cause of this outrage. A Peruvian, who was jealous of Seniergues, had resolved to have him assassinated, and succeeded but too well. Seniergues died in the arms of M. de la Condamine, charging him to take care to have him avenged.

This was a fresh action the Academicians had to uphold. It lasted three years. The author of the murder was condemned to exile; he did not, however, quit the country, but turned priest.

Before their departure, they had a third action to maintain. This was on account of the two pyramids they wished to erect at the two extremities of the basis, accurately measured upon the land itself, to serve as the foundation for all their calculations. These pyramids would afterwards have furnished them an easy and sure method of verifying their observations; so that this was rather an object of utility than of vanity. Some Spanish officers took umbrage at the inscription,
in

in which mention was made of the King of France, and opposed it. M. de la Condamine, in the name of his colleagues, carried this point: the two pyramids were raised, but have been demolished since the departure of the Academicians.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

A P P E N D I X.

A B L E N D I X

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A P P E N D I X.

Nº. II.

Memorial on behalf of the Parliament, against the Dukes and Peers, presented to his Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans, Regent.

MONSEIGNEUR,

THE Parliament flatter themselves that they have given sufficient proofs of their zeal for your R. H. to hope that you will not deprive them of their honours ; honours which they have been in possession of for so many centuries. If the Peers of France had looked upon these distinctions as recent usurpations, and as attacks made upon their dignity, would they have neglected to complain of them in 1664 ? Would they not have endeavoured to destroy them, at a time when the late King appeared to be in no favourable disposition towards that Court, and when, in compliance with their importunate clamours, the established order of voting was subverted ? Their silence is a convincing proof of the novelty of their pretensions ; which have no other source than in the pride of the Duke d'Uzes, who, from a haughty caprice, would not take off his hat at the time of giving his vote. And what they now take upon them to call an inter-

VOL. I. I ruption,

ruption, which defeats the prescriptive right, is the only foundation of their chimerical idea. In their eagerness to avail themselves of the most trifling opportunities, they wished to take advantage of this attempt of the Duke d'Uzes; they exerted all their interest to have it approved and authorised by his Majesty. But that wise Prince readily understood that an infringement of the dignity of those persons who had the honour of representing him, was a diminution of his own; he therefore forbade such attempts for the future, under pain of his displeasure, and of exemplary punishment.

The Peers should call to mind what the Parliament has done in their favour since these few years past: they used to present themselves in the same place with the Seneschals in order to take their oaths, and were admitted upon the footing of Counsellors of a Sovereign Court. But this title—which formerly the Princes of the blood, and the Dukes of Guise, in their greatest splendor, would not have disdained—hurting the pride of our modern Peers, the Parliament readily agreed to the suppression of it; and, by an easy condescension, of which the First President Harlay was the principal mover, they relaxed upon this point; which strongly marked that superiority of the Presidents, they now call in question with so much acrimony. Their unbounded ambition has not been satisfied with an advantage which they owe to the moderation of Parliament. As one pretension with them begets more, and one favour granted is a foundation for asking a second, they entertained a thought of being elected in the same manner as the Presidents; and, expecting to find an entire compliance in a Magistrate, much attached to the Court, they applied themselves to our First President*, and imagined that he would readily side with them in the affair of the hat. But they could neither seduce him by their flattery, nor intimidate him by their threats, the shameful effects of which have been since but too apparent. He maintained the honour of the Company with so much zeal and steady-

ness,

* John Anthony de Mesme.

ness, that, notwithstanding the pressing solicitations of the Peers to the late King, he obtained a promise from his Majesty, that he would not give any decision.

The hopes of the Peers were then turned towards your R. H.; they offered you their services, when the King, whose death was shortly expected, and unavoidable, and whose intentions were not known, should be expired. But they would not engage nor declare themselves for your R. H. unless they received assurances that you would favour their pretensions; and they gave your R. H. to understand, that without those conditions you were not to depend upon them.

Your R. H. will please to give a moment's attention to the difference of the proceeding between the Parliament and the Peers. Our zeal alone has prompted us to serve you. We extorted no promise. Our suffrages had already insured the Regency to you, before the Peers were intitled to vote. For we do not imagine they would seriously maintain, that they have the right of disposing of the Regency, and even of the Kingdom, in case of a disputed succession, though they have been hardy enough to propagate such an idea, and to insinuate it in their memorial of 1664. Upon what ground can they support the pretension? Is it because their aggregate body is composed of the three Estates of the Kingdom? Or because they consider themselves as the successors of the Dukes of Burgundy, Guienne, and Normandy? Your R. H. has certainly not forgotten that the President de Maisson has been several times commissioned by you, to assure the Parliament, that they might depend upon the honour of your protection; and that, far from diminishing their prerogatives, you would rather increase them, whenever the administration of the kingdom should be placed in your hands. And what does the Parliament ask at present of your R. H. but merely the favour of leaving them in the quiet possession of their privileges? We are far from pretending to call in question your right of judging these kinds of disputes; and if one of our most illustrious Magistrates has said in your R. H.'s presence, that the decision belonged to the King, it was not so much from

any doubt he had of your authority, as to suggest to you a specious pretence for leaving the matter undecided till the King's majority.

Is it not strange, that, to gratify their vanity, the Peers, who are but a portion of the Parliament, should make this disturbance in it, at a time when the greatest harmony ought to subsist between all the bodies, and when they ought all to concur with unanimity in the preservation of peace? If they were well affected towards your R. H. would they expose you to the hazard of a decision, the consequences of which might be dangerous? Your R. H. is not unacquainted with the degree of consideration which the Parliament enjoys in the capital, and throughout the whole kingdom of France; what weight their authority carries in the most important affairs of the State; and what influence their example has on the other Parliaments. In vain would the Peers make themselves appear formidable; is it on account of their wealth? Most of them have not so much as was necessary to constitute a Roman Knight, and they maintain themselves only by forming unsuitable alliances. Are they to be feared for their prowess? Contented with the dignities of peace, they set no great value upon military employments; and, excepting a small number of them, they are in general bad soldiers, and have given so few specimens of their valour, that one would imagine the administration of justice seemed more congenial to them.

But they might, perhaps, engage the Nobility to side with them? It is known they have disgusted them, by their ridiculous haughtiness, on every occasion, and particularly in insisting, that they should follow them on that day of the King's decease, or that they should walk as a distinct and separate body. So contagious is the air of Peerage, that even the Archbishop Duke of Rheims, whose dignity is transitory, was not ashamed of engaging in so odious a plan; thus sacrificing to a momentary honour, the interests of the Nobility, for whom his attachment, in general, was well known.

But

But it is not the distinction of the Presidents *à Mortier* that irritates them; their ambition has higher views: and, not daring openly to equal themselves to the Princes of the Blood, they endeavour to diminish the honours and prerogatives which make so great a difference between them, notwithstanding the conformity of dignities.

Nothing can oblige your R. H. to give a decision upon this question. Can the Peers have any cause of complaint, if you leave things in the same situation they have always been? And would it not be degrading to the Parliament, to deprive them of the honours with which our Kings have thought fit to grace the persons who were to represent them? The annulling of the act of the 27th of September, which is merely a precaution of police, to prevent those commotions the Peers intended to excite on the day of the declaration of the Regency, has already sufficiently disgusted the Parliament, without increasing, by new mortifications, their just causes of complaint.

Yet, if your R. H. were notwithstanding determined to judge this matter (a supposition not consistent with true policy) it can only be respecting titles or possession. The Peers cannot but acknowledge that custom is against them, since they oppose it; and if they have any titles, let them produce them, we will anticipate your R. H.'s sentence, and condemn ourselves. But our possession is not only certain, and from time immemorial, it is also attested in our archives, and the nature of it is established by those permanent memorials. Will any one venture to attack the authority of these solid foundations of public security, these sacred deposits of the wills of our Kings?

Formerly the Peers had no other prerogative but those which were enjoyed by all persons possessed of Noble fiefs; they were both admitted, in the moving Parliaments which followed the Court, to deliberate on affairs of State, and administer justice to individuals. The general assemblies were commonly tumultuous; the Kings were by no means masters of the deliberations taken in them; the Judges were mostly, either

entirely ignorant, or at least had very little knowledge of the common or of the statute law; and the parties were exposed to great injustice.

Philip the Fair, finding it absolutely necessary to change the form of these Parliaments, gave them a fixed residence, and settled the time and the place of the meeting of their assemblies, for the convenience of the subjects, and the speedy administration of justice. The Parliament of Paris was composed, one half of Clergy, and the other of Laity, who were named by the King at the opening of their session. Two Prelates and two Noblemen were commissioned to preside. But who were those named by the Dauphin Charles, during the captivity of King John? The Count of Evreux, and the Count of Burgundy. The twelve Peers were admitted into Parliament, as honorary and perpetual Counsellors by their rank of Peerage; the Counsellors, on the contrary, were chosen by the King; who changed them at his pleasure, that these proud vassals might be sensible of the power of the Sovereign. Philip the Fair gave the precedency over them to the Presidents, as representatives of their sovereign Master, in the administration of justice; and the number of Presidents being afterwards increased, the last appointed took place by the same title as the first, above the Peers: which is a certain proof that an increase of the number of Presidents does not prevent their unity, and indivisibility with regard to the representation, and the honours inseparably attached to it.

Those powerful Princes would, no doubt, have been offended at seeing so many persons placed above them, if they had not considered the whole body of them as making one Chief: they suffered, without murmuring, the ordinary Counsellors to have a kind of superiority over the honorary ones; and it is to mark this prerogative, that a Counsellor closes the Bench of Peers to this day.

As the Peers make a part of the Parliament, and as the causes which concern them are tried in that Court, it has sometimes been called, very improperly, *The Court of Peers.*

Peers. But it is in fact the King's Court, where justice is administered in his name; and in which the Peers sit. It is true, that they have a seat in other Parliaments; but this is only as honorary Counsellors: and the same honour is granted to the Counsellors of the Grand Chamber, as a mark of respect to the superior Parliament.

Have the Ecclesiastical Peers, who piqued themselves so much upon being the most ancient Peers of the kingdom, and whom we hear continually regretting the precedence they have over the Princes of the blood, any further distinction in Parliament, than merely the sitting above the Dean; in the same manner as the other Bishops, who are admitted by the prerogative of their sees? These Prelates are, like them, honorary Counsellors; like them, they are not admitted before they have taken the oaths. Neither of them are Counsellors by birth, their right being suspended till their reception. And as this law is common to the Lay Peers, what reason can they allege for the new difficulty they have started with regard to the Duke of Richelieu, and for arresting the course of justice, in the execution of the wisest and most important of all edicts?

In a word, the sons and grandsons of France see, without the least scruple, the Presidents seated above them. Even the Dauphin, the most perfect image of Royalty, who with one hand touches the Crown, while he lowers the other to the earth, in token of subjection; the Dauphin himself cannot, without an express commission from the King, take place of the Presidents. And at the time when the Princes of the blood were only considered as Noblemen descended from the Royal Family, and as Peers holding fiefs, the first President did not salute them in asking their votes. It is only since Henry III. declared them Peers by birth, that he uncovers himself when he calls upon them for their suffrage. And the Peers, these modern Peers, exclaim against an honour attached to the dignity of President, jealous, without doubt, of that which Princes of the Blood enjoy.

History acquaints us, that when the Chancellor de Rochefort went, in the year 1509, in the name of Lewis XII. to receive the homage of Philip Archduke of Austria, for the counties of Flanders, Artois, and Charolois—he took the precedence of him from the moment of his arrival in the town of Arras, which was appointed for that ceremony. He remained seated, and with his hat on, when the Prince presented himself to take the oath of allegiance. The Presidents, who represent the King, in a situation no less exalted, would, no doubt, have a right not to salute the Peers when they enter the Grand Chamber to come to their places; and, since the Peers, on account of a few limited honours which they enjoy at Court, have imagined that they could oblige the Nobility to follow them, with much more reason might the Presidents, who are above them in Parliament, require precedence of them in every other situation, if they were as restless and as turbulent in their disposition.

The Greeks and the Romans, those warlike nations, preferred the gown to the sword, because force is only the support of justice, and is only to be considered so long as it retains that characteristic. The Republics of Venice, Holland, and Genoa, still conduct themselves according to these maxims. Yet these Gentlemen, who, on every trifling business, are ready to fly for shelter to the protection of the law, affect to hold it in contempt.

If the Parliament, which, at its first institution, was only filled by Nobles, has since, through corruption, been open to the dregs of the people, such a mixture does not tarnish the lustre of the profession; and the body of Peers, which have been much more disgraced, has no right to reproach us with it.

There is but one sort of Nobility: it is indeed acquired by different means; by military employments, and by those of the Magistracy. But their rights and prerogatives are the same. The robe is not less illustrious than the sword. The Chancellors, and the Keepers of the Seals, are equal to the Constables, and Marshals of France; the Presidents *à Mortier*, to the Dukes.

Dukes and Peers, who, like them, gave way without opposition to the Chief of the Magistracy.

But if we are to come to the investigation of families, we shall not be afraid to aver, that there are many families in the Parliament, superior to those of the Peers: We do not, indeed, think ourselves obliged to give credit to their fabulous genealogy, adopted by the too credulous Dufourny*; and, without entering into too great a detail on that subject, it will not be improper here to give your R. H. a summary, at least, but faithful account of the origin of several Dukes. Your Highness will afterwards be able to judge whether, in favour of such people, it is just to abase the first Company of the kingdom, and whether they do wisely in attacking it.

We preserve in our Court the documents of ennobling the two first Dukes. *Gerault Bastet* † was ennobled by the Bishop of Valence, in 1304. He was son to John Bastet, apothecary at Viviers; who, according to the same register, bought the estate of Cruslob, in 1300, of the heirs of that house.

Nicholas de la Tremouille, whose entertaining genius obtained him the favour of Charles V. was ennobled by letters patent in 1375. A torrent of wealth and honours soon swelled this little spring into a mighty stream.

Maximilian de Bethune is treated like a man of no kind of note, by Marshal Tavannes, in his Memoirs: His father, John de Bethune, was an adventurer, who gave out that he came from Scotland: he was called Bethon, agreeable to the foreign pronunciation. The additions to the memoirs of Castelnau, hint at the uncertainty of his origin, by saying that the Bethunes of Scotland sprang from the Bethunes of Flanders. John de Bethune debauched Jane de Melun, daughter of the Lord of Rosni, and married her. Andrew Duchesne has since made them descendants from the Bethunes of Flanders, and was well rewarded for it.

* Auditor of Accounts, author of the "Nobiliare Francois."

† Real name of the Dukes d'Uzes.

*Luines**, *Brantes*, and *Cadenet*, were three brothers, who had but one cloak, which they wore by turns, when they went to the Louvre. Their father, Honoré Albert, was an advocate at Mornas, a small town of the county, where lawyers rank with Nobility. Never was fortune so great, nor so rapid. Charles Albert was made Duke de Luines and Constable: Brantes, who had pleaded as an advocate, obtained the title of Duke of Luxembourg by marriage: and Cadenet was created Duke de Chaulnes. They are now made to descend from the *Albertis* of Italy.

The *Cossé Brissacs* are very illustrious, but not very ancient. They once pretended to be descendants from the *Cossés* of Italy, as may be seen in the additions of Castelnau; at present they choose to owe their origin to a family of *Cossé*, in the county of Maine.

René Vignerot †, domestic and player on the lute to Cardinal Richelieu, served him with so much dexterity in his pleasures, that he consented to give him his sister, who had fallen in love with him. He afterwards obtained for him the succession to his dukedom of Richelieu. Vignerot's mother's second husband was a falconer.

The Duke de *St. Simon's* fortune and nobility are so recent, that every body is acquainted with them. One of his cousins was almost within our day groom to Madame de Schomberg. The resemblance of the arms of *la Vacquerie*, which this family quarters with those of *Vermandois*, gave him occasion to say, that he claims his descent from a Princess of that house. In fact, the vanity of this petty Duke is carried to such an excess of folly, that in his genealogy, he makes a citizen, called *le Bossu*, who was Judge of Mayenne; and married the heiress of the elder branch of his family, descend from the house of *Bossu*.

George Vert, the carcase-butcher, would be greatly surprised, in looking down from the pinnacle of his dignity, to see himself the ancestor of the numerous posterity of *La Rochefoucault*, *Rouffi*, &c.

The

* Their true name is Albert.

† Real name of the Dukes of Richelieu.

The *Newville-Villeroys* are descended from a fish-monger, clerk of the kitchen to Francis I. He is mentioned in that quality, in the Chamber of Accounts. His son, Register of the Hotel de Ville, was Provost of Merchants, and father to *Nicholas de Newville*, Usher, and Secretary of State. The stateliness of Marshal Villeroy can scarcely reconcile itself to so slender an extraction.

The *d'Estrées* are ennobled only within 250 years. The Cardinal *d'Estrées*, after much trouble, has not been able to trace any thing farther.

The *Boulainvilliers*, *Boufflers*, and *Lauzuns*, 150 years ago were not known farther than the limits of their villages.

The *Grammonts* have at last settled their arms, and derive them from the house of *Aure*. The Count *de Grammont* asked the Marshal one day what arms they should bear that year. They owe their rise to *Corisanda Dandouin*, their grandmother, mistress to Henry IV. and since, to the alliance of the Marshal with the Cardinal de Richelieu.

The *Noailles* are descended from a servant of *Peter Roger*, Count *de Beaufort*, Viscount *de Turenne*, who ennobled them, and made a fief of a little corner of the *Noailles* estate, where that servant was born. The *Montmorins* are in possession of the title, which they would never give up to the Duke of Bouillon during their quarrel. *De Noailles*, Bishop of Acqs, in the year 1556, bought a part of the estate of *Noailles* from the *Lignerat* family, and in the year 1559 he purchased the remainder of the estate and the castle. The family of *Montmorin* still preserve a piece of tapestry, in which one of the *Noailles* family is seen putting dishes upon the table. The stock of this arrogant family was very low.

Charles de la Porte *, Marshal *de la Meilleraye*, father of the late Duke of *Mazarin*, was son to a famous advocate in this Parliament, whose father was an apothecary at *Partenai*. This Marshal, whose mother was
aunt

* Real name of the Dukes of *Mazarin*.

aunt to the Cardinal of Richelieu, owed his fortune afterwards to him.

The Duke of *Harcourt* is descended from a bastard son of a Bishop of Bayeux. *John d'Harcourt Beuvron* was Viscount or Judge of Caen in 1554. His son was chosen, with some more citizens children, to strew flowers before Henry IV. at his public entry in that city, as is attested in the book of the *antiquities of Caen*.

The Duke of *Epernon*. Rouillac, a famous genealogist, has informed us, that the *Parcailans* * *Montespan*, descended from a bastard of a Canon of Leytour, in Gascony.

Cantien de Villars, Register of Condrieux in 1486, as well as his father *Cloute de Villars*. His nephew enjoyed the letters of *Noblesse* he had obtained, and, after having been a country farmer, was restored on the 16th of February 1586.

The *Potiers*, Dukes of *Gesvres*, and of *Trêmes*, are descended from members come from the Parliament, and those not of the best families. Other houses have had employments there. One *John de Mailli* was Counsellor in the Court under Charles VI.

The *Clermont Tonnerres* were only Counsellors of the Dauphin de Viennois; and as to the other Clermonts, among whom is the Bishop de Laon, what were they before the marriage of *Francis de Chatte*, with the widow of one *Polignac*, whose servant he had been?

Such, Sir, is the extraction of a considerable part of the Peers of the realm; but neither among these, nor among the others whom we do not name here, is there any one, without exception, who, has not some alliance with the robe; and they have frequently allied themselves with the lowest part of the profession; for we do not pretend to deny, that we have among us several classes, which we distinguish by the title of the great, the middle, and the lower order of the robe.

It is nevertheless these people who compare themselves to the Dukes of *Burgundy*, of *Guyenne*, and of *Normandy*; and to the Counts of *Flanders*, of *Champaigne*.

* Name of the Dukes d'Epernon, now extinct.

paign, and of *Toulouse*, It is these people who are caballing to reduce the legitimated Princes of the Blood to the rank of their peerage, who, not contented with treating the Parliament with contempt, would make the Nobility give place to them, expect from them the title of *Monseigneur* in their letters, refusing them the right hand at their houses, and would even obtain distinctions, hitherto unheard of, and refuse *, to measure their swords with Gentlemen. In a word, it is these people, who, forgetting that they compose a part of the Parliament, dare to rank among the commonalty this Company, the most august in the kingdom.

† POSTPONED TILL THE KING'S MAJORITY.

N^o. III.

Account of the General Assembly of the Proprietors of the Western Company, and the India Company united to it. (Of the 30th of December 1719.)

IN the year 1719, on the 30th day of December in the morning, in the General Assembly of the Western and India Companies, convoked by public notice, in observance of the article XLII. of the letters patent for the establishment of the said Western Company, and of the article of the edict signifying the coalition of the said Company with the India Company ; in which assembly, holden in the upper gallery of the hotel of the Bank Royal, were present his R. H. the Duke of Orleans, his R. H. the Duke of Chartres, his R. H. the Duke of Bourbon, Princes of the Blood, and other great and distinguished persons of the kingdom ; as also M. Law, Director General of the said Company, and of the said Bank Royal ; the thirty private Directors of the said India Company, and of the affairs appertaining to it ; and the proprietors themselves, to the number of more than two thousand.—After the Princes of the Blood and the Nobles had taken their seats,

* Perhaps from other motives, than those of vanity.

† Sentence of the Duke of Orleans.

seats, M. Corneau, pleader in the Council, and of the said Directors of the India Company, saluted his R. H. the Regent, and in the name of the said Directors spoke as follows :

“ MONSEIGNEUR,

“ The general Proprietors of the Western and India Companies, convoked by the consent of your R. H. for the observance of the article XLII. of the letters patent for the establishment of the Western Company, and of the article of the edict of coalition that hath been made between that and the India Company, has two principal objects in view.

“ The one is, to communicate to the Proprietors what hath been done by the Directors for and in the name of the Company since the last meeting, in order that the same may be ratified and approved of by the Proprietors.

“ The other is, to present to the Proprietors the balance of the receipts and disbursements, in order to certify the produce that is to form the dividend of the shares.

“ With regard to the first point, the Directors are able to satisfy the Proprietors, by exposing to them all that has been done for and in the name of the Company since the last general meeting.

“ But with regard to the balance of the receipts and disbursements, it has not been possible for the Directors to settle and draw it out, considering the great number of affairs that have been joined to those of the Company, and trusted to the care of the Directors; which hath scarce left them time sufficient to settle the necessary regulations for a prudent administration.

“ In fact, to establish the Colonies of Louisiana, to send off the ships laden with rich cargoes to the Indies, to reanimate the commerce with Africa and the northern countries, to establish the administration of the Farms General, to treat with his Majesty for the alienation of striking the coin for nine years and for the refining, to administer the general re-

“ ceipts

“ cepts of twenty generalities in the kingdom and of
 “ the countries where States are holden, to offer to
 “ lend to his Majesty fifteen hundred millions of livres*
 “ to be employed towards the discharge of the nation-
 “ al debt, to deliver to the public one hundred and
 “ fifty millions† of new shares; all these affairs,
 “ which were intrusted to the care of the Directors,
 “ furnish so many evident reasons which have not per-
 “ mitted them to form their general balance to present
 “ it to the Proprietors at this meeting.

“ Nevertheless, although the balance cannot be
 “ settled, and the produce stated, the Proprietors may
 “ be assured that every thing passes for the good and
 “ advantage of the Company; that the colonies of
 “ Louisiana are going on prosperously; that the trade
 “ to India, and that to Africa, and to the north, are
 “ assuming new vigour; that the produce of the Farms
 “ General is visibly increasing; that there will be very
 “ considerable profits arising from the administration
 “ and striking of the coin, and from the refining of
 “ the materials; that the Company wish to econo-
 “ mize the expences of taxations, and of the emolu-
 “ ments given to the Receivers General of Finance,
 “ so that the dividend of the old shares of the Western
 “ Company might be fixed at present at the proportion
 “ of 40 per cent. and a like dividend for the hundred
 “ and fifty millions of the new shares in the India
 “ Company.”

The Regent interrupted the speaker in this place,
 and said, that the whole of the old and new actions
 consisting of 300 millions ‡, it was therefore 120 mil-
 lions § that were to be distributed to the Proprietors
 in the year 1720.

M. Law said, Yes, *Monseigneur*, and added, that
 the new Proprietors could not partake of this dividend
 till after the complete payment of their subscriptions,
 that is to say, in the month of July 1720, unless they
 chose

* Sixty-two millions five hundred thousand pounds.

† Six millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

‡ Twelve millions five hundred thousand pounds.

§ Five millions.

chose rather to fulfil their subscriptions at present; which he thought equitable to leave to their option. He added likewise, that a dividend of 4 per cent. should be given to the new shares for the year 1718, and as much for the year 1719.

The Regent resumed the discourse, and said, that this must be by a retroactive effect, since the subscriptions had not been delivered in till the end of 1719. M. Law answered, Yes, *Monseigneur*; and the Assembly applauded by clapping of hands.

Afterwards, a known Proprietor, who was near the table of the Assembly, demanded permission to speak—which being granted him, he asked, if the new Proprietors, who should fulfil from that time their subscriptions in one single payment, would not be treated more favourably than those who should only fulfil their payments in the month of July, and if the first would not have some preference?

The Regent did him the honour to answer him, and said, that it was not possible to grant any preference to the most active, because it was necessary that the lot of all the Proprietors should be equal, and that nothing could be given to some without deducting from the others.

M. Law added, that those Proprietors who should make good their subscriptions immediately, would have an evident advantage, inasmuch as they would receive 20 per cent. for their shares during the first six months; whereas the Proprietors who should not complete their payments till the month of July, would not be intitled to any benefit till the last six months in the year. *The Company did not applaud this declaration.*

M. Corneau afterwards resumed his discourse, by enumerating successively twenty articles, the ratification of which was proposed to the Directors. It would be needless to mention them here, as these twenty articles had only in view the coalition of the India with the Western Company, and the union of all the affairs that have been joined to the India Company, which includes the Western. The above-named M. Corneau immediately read, upon each of these articles, the letters

letters patent and decrees pointing out these said coalitions, and especially the letters of settlement for the India Company, those of the decree by which the lease of the Farms General of Aymard Lambert was annulled, and of the decree respecting the alienation of the coin, and the privileges of refining; all which letters patent and decrees are very extensive, beside which they are published; the reading of them, therefore, which took up an hour at the meeting, would be useless in this account.

After the enumeration of these twenty articles, known to the whole Assembly by the decrees published at the time, the above-named M. Corneau proceeded to propose some new articles, which called up the attention of the Company, and occasioned universal silence.

The first article proposed, was to render tobacco a mercantile commodity, by changing the special grant, which was the object of leasing it, into a duty of import.

The Regent replied—that without doubt the Directors had examined the produce that was to be expected from a duty of import; that he understood well it would give a greater facility to trade; but that he should depend upon the researches of the Directors, to be assured whether the produce of a duty of import would be equal to the lease.

The second article proposed was concerning the duty or tax to be gathered upon the cottons of Louisiana. This article was not treated in a very intelligible manner; it was not even discussed, but passed without examination.

The third article proposed was, to permit the India Company to establish magazines in all the harbours and ports of the kingdom, and even in several other cities named in the memorial that was read: into which magazines, all the hemp that was thrashed in the kingdom should be obliged to be carried by those who had gathered it, and that the India Company should pay them for it at different prices, respecting the situation of the magazines, and according to a fixed rate; which was also read at full length.

This

This article, though equally important, and not less extensive in its consequences, was not discussed at the meeting; it seemed, upon the whole, to meet with the Regent's approbation, but with reference to a fuller examination.

The fourth article proposed, was the remonstrance of the Directors; who required that they should be allowed to withdraw 150 of the 200 shares they had deposited at their entrance into the Western Company, as a security for their administration.

The motive of this claim, proposed by M. Corneau their Counsellor, was, that at the time of the settlement of the Western Company, these two hundred shares were not worth more than 100,000 livres *, but that now, at the price to which they were raised, they made a fund of two millions of livres †; so that the fifty shares which they proposed leaving in the chest, amounted to 500,000 livres ‡, which exceeded by four-fifths the fund of 100,000 livres §, which they had meant to deposit in order to be appointed Directors of the Western Company. To this M. Corneau added, that although the interest of the Directors seemed rather apparent in this proposal, which they considered as a just one, yet the benefit of the Proprietors was no less interested in it; because when it should become necessary, either from the death of some one of them, or from the urgency and multitude of affairs annexed to the India Company, to replace any of the present Directors, or to increase their number, as the situation of the Directors was to be perfectly equal, it would be difficult to find, united in the same persons, sufficient property to make up a fund of two millions ||, which should remain as a deposit in the chest, and, at the same time, sufficient knowledge and ability to conduct the affairs committed to their care; by which both the Administrators and the Proprietors might suffer considerably.

The

* Upwards of four thousand pounds.

† Between eighty-three and eighty-four thousand pounds.

‡ Near twenty-one thousand pounds.

§ Upwards of four thousand pounds.

|| Upwards of eighty-three thousand pounds.

The Regent replied—that although the funds advanced by each of the Directors, amounted at present to two millions of livres*, yet this was an event which they could not have expected at the time of their acceding to the condition of leaving them in deposit; that these two millions had still only cost them originally 100,000 livres†, which brought them at present a dividend of forty thousand livres‡, and that they could not therefore place their funds more securely, nor to better advantage; that, besides, the Directors would discredit the Company, if they insisted upon withdrawing a part of their stock from it, because they could not turn it to a better use.

Matters remained as they were upon this article, and the affair of the Quincampoix Street was then brought upon the carpet.

M. Corneau said, in order to put a stop to the abuses and impositions daily practised in the negotiating shares upon the spot, that the Directors asked of the Bank Royal to establish a double office, at the gate of which should be posted up, every day, the price of the shares, at the standard of the stock, according to which standard the Bank on one side would buy, and on the other would sell and deliver subscriptions to all those who should present themselves.

The Regent required some explanation upon this point from M. Law. His answer was not heard by the Assembly: but we may judge of it by that of the Regent to him; who replied in the following words: *I understand; that is to say, that a stockbroker, who is commissioned by an individual to buy or sell subscriptions, hath it in his power, by the continual variation of their price, from one hour to another, to say, that he has bought them at a dearer, or sold them at a cheaper rate, and may by this means convert this variation to his own benefit, to the prejudice of the public. I therefore think the establishment of an office, for buying and selling at the Bank, very necessary to prevent these impositions.*

It

* Upwards of eighty-three thousand pounds.

† Upwards of four thousand pounds.

‡ Between one and two thousand pounds.

It was afterwards resolved, that this office should be opened on the 25th of January; but the event has prevented the expectation of the public from being fulfilled. The Assembly applauded with loud acclamations.

It was thought that the article respecting the Directors was completely settled; but M. Law put it again upon the board, and proposed to indemnify the Directors by an increase of their salaries; which were immediately fixed by the Regent at 30,000 livres*, each, instead of 6,000 †, which they received before.

M. Corneau spoke again, to ask, in the name of the Directors, that they should be impowered, as well to do and regulate whatever they should think fit for the benefit and advantage of the Proprietors, as to increase the number of Directors, according to the exigency of affairs. The Secretary then brought the register of the deliberations; in which something was written, which was supposed to be the settlement of the Directors salaries. The register was then presented to the Regent, who signed the deliberations, and rose up; the whole Court followed him, and the register remained upon the board, where all the Proprietors were admitted to sign it.

N^o. V.

Origin, names, qualities, &c. of the Farmers General, from the year 1720 till the year 1751.

I.

ADINE. This family takes its origin from Burgundy, towards Auxerre. They are nearly related to the Viltars, wine-merchants at Paris, and at *Porte à l'Anglois*. The father of the Farmer General, having successively gone through the lowest employments, became Deputy-Farmer, after he had been a long

* Twelve hundred and fifty pounds.

† Two hundred and fifty pounds.

long time Director. The son was Deputy-Farmer in his father's life-time: he succeeded him, and was appointed Director of the India Company in 1719. He was likewise one of the Managers which were added to the Company about that time. He was one of those singular men, whose capacity embraced every object. The farms he understood in a superior degree, and possessed the uncommon talent of precision. He was a member of the French Academy, an honour to which few financiers aspire. He bought the marquise of Villefavin, which his children still enjoy. He was turned out of his place because 30.000 livres*, in old and new specie, were found at his house, notwithstanding the order given out by a decree of Council, which forbade any private man from keeping in his house above 500 livres†. He was betrayed by one of his footmen, whom he had reprimanded with more sharpness than usual, one day, when he had the gout in a more violent degree than ordinary; of which he died at the age of 37 or 38 years, much regretted by his family.

II.

BERGERET was brother to the wife of M. Paris, and was called la Montagne, being the second of four brothers, who bore the name of his wife. He was appointed Farmer General under the direction of Charles Cordier, in 1721, in the administration of M. le † Pelletier de la Houffaye, Comptroller General of finances.

He was continued in the succeeding lease of the farms by a manœuvre of the Duke de Villeroy, who obtained an unguarded promise from Cardinal Fleuri, for the appointment of a person whose name he did not mention. When he heard that it was for Bergeret, he was near falling into a swoon, as every body who had been protected by the Duke of Bourbon, Prime Minister § before him, or who had any connections

* One thousand two hundred and fifty pounds.

† Twenty pounds.

‡ This Pelletier was not of the same family as the Pelletier belonging to the Parliament.

§ Disgraced the 14th of June, 1726.

tions with the brothers Paris, was odious at that time. He could not however go from his word, having given it in a manner that made it almost impossible for him to withdraw it. This Bergeret was a laborious man, of a serious turn, of easy manners, and very regular, remarkably upright, and free from pride. He had a large family, which he brought up very well, and to which he was very much attached, notwithstanding his having been a widower for a long time,

Bergeret has been dead some years, but his son is alive. He is Receiver General of finances, and celebrated for his taste in the fine arts.

III.

BRISSARD, a native of the town of Meulan, was Provost in that little place, and would never have been promoted, if chance had not placed his brother with Cardinal Fleuri, whose Chaplain he was; he became afterwards his Steward. The Cardinal, from the first year of his administration, placed Brissard's brother, the Provost, in the under-leases of the farms, and afterwards in the contract for the sale of offices of the ports, and other places at Paris, from which he had a profit of two sous †, while his associates had but one: he gained immense sums by this, as well as by furnishing bedding for the army hospitals, and by the provision-contract for the army in Italy, in 1733 ‡. He was afterwards Farmer General. He had been obliged to give up the place of Provost at Meulan, on being suspected of having received money to suffer a man to make his escape, who had deserved to be hanged. He was brutal, insolent, vain, and not very knowing in business. He did not spend much money at Paris, though he was very profuse at his estate at Triel, which he had acquired since he was Farmer General.

He died in 1753. His son succeeded him as Farmer General, and married the daughter of the Marquis de Thiard, of the French Academy. Brissard had bought, some

† A penny.

‡ With a person of the name of Marquet, formerly corn-merchant at Bourdeaux. Barjac, valet-de-chambre to the Cardinal, was also a partner.

some years before, the hotel d'Armenonville, *rue Platriere*; he found he had not room enough in it, and was just going to lay out a hundred thousand crowns § in embellishments when he died. He had a large library, collected by the Abbé Briffard, who had pillered almost all Cardinal Fleuri's books to complete it.

The son has since been struck off the list of the *Soixantes*, by the Comptroller General Laverdy, on account of his insolent luxury.

IV.

BONNEVIE. This man began by the lowest employments in finance, and, by dint of suppleness and cunning, contrived to appropriate to himself an inheritance that did not belong to him, and which afterwards facilitated to him the means of entering into the under-farms of the domains and other customs, which he understood very well. He was appointed Farmer General in 1721, under the Ministry of M. le Pelletier de la Houffaye, and was continued in the following lease in 1726.

He was a laborious man, but ill-tempered, brutish, and extremely severe, particularly in his manners, having no sort of politeness.

V.

BOURET. He was the son of Bouret, who had been footman to M. Ferriol, Ambassador at the Porte, and had married Madame Ferriol's woman. This footman was the son of a peasant, a native of Mants. He died Secretary to the King in the Grand College. He was concerned in several affairs, among others, in subsisting the troops, and in the conveying of the salt of the kingdom; by which he gained considerable sums. Bouret was appointed Farmer General in the lease of Nicholas Desboves. He married the daughter of Tellez d'Acosta, who was Contractor for provisions, under the protection of the Marquis of Breteuil, Minister and Secretary for the War department.

He

§ Twelve thousand five hundred pounds.

He had the charge of supplying Provence with corn. It was in that critical employment that this good citizen conducted himself with so much prudence, wisdom, intelligence, and disinterestedness, that, to perpetuate the memory of his good offices, a gold medal was struck by order of the King; a glorious testimony to him and his family. The King granted him the reversion of a Farmer General's place for M. Bouret de Valroche, his second brother; who ceded it to the Sieur Bouret d'Herigny, his younger brother, on account of the marriage the said d'Herigny contracted with Mademoiselle Poisson, second cousin to the Marchioness de Pompadour: in consequence of which, the King granted to Valroche the place of Receiver General of finances.

This Bouret died in 1777; it was thought he poisoned himself. There are no more Farmers General of that name.

VI.

BRAGOUSE's family comes from Languedoc; he himself was born at Montpellier, and came to Paris with no other equipage than a case of razors. He began the world like most of his countrymen, by being a barber's boy.

Law's system made him quit his shop to go to the *rue Quincampoix*, where he made a very good fortune in a short time. He married a washerwoman he was in love with, and soon after bought the place of Treasurer to the King's household, for which he only paid half, not having a sufficient stock to pay more; which at last proved his ruin. He had been in quiet possession of this place for some years, when a place of Farmer General became vacant, which he solicited, and obtained, by means of his friend Barjac, valet-de-chambre to Cardinal Fleuri. It was universally believed, that they were to share the profits; but as Bragouse had no estate to produce, and his place was not entirely his own, he found a difficulty in advancing money when it was wanted; nobody would lend him any, but at an exorbitant interest; so that these sums

increasing,

increasing, and he not being able to pay either capital or interest, he was obliged to abscond, and became a bankrupt. Some time after, he lost a cause against the person of whom he had bought his place; he was condemned in costs, and to pay the arrears in money, in default of which, the seller was immediately to have full possession of and to enter upon the duties of his office, by paying to the said Bragouse the amount of what he had received from him, and in the same mode. By the interest of Barjac, he was allowed a fourth share of the profits, from the person who succeeded him as Farmer General.

VII.

CAMUSET was a Notary at the Chatelet of Paris, son to the favourite Commissary of M. d'Argenson*. By some services in his possession, he came to be employed by the late Dutchess of Chateau-roux. She solicited for him the grant of the first place of Farmer General, that should become vacant. He did not however obtain the first, because the Lady died too soon†. It was given to La Motte, uncle by the mother's side to the Marchioness de Pompadour; but the King not having forgotten him, he was appointed to the second, which was after the decease of Grimod-Dufort. Camuset died of the venereal decease, at Nants, in 1753, where he was upon his circuit.

VIII.

CAZE, originally of Languedoc, of a good family high in the service. He came to Paris for employment, and was at first Clerk in the office of Extra-affairs. As he had great connections, he through their interest married a young lady from St. Cyr: in consequence of this marriage, he rose rapidly in the department of Extra-affairs, which at that time were very comprehensive. He gained considerable sums there, and afterwards got into the under farms of the Aids of the Do-

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mains.

* Lieutenant of "Police," since Comptroller General.

† In 1744.

mains. He was appointed Farmer General in 1721, and was continued in the next lease, as well as in the succeeding ones.

He is not proud, though he has an air of grandeur in his manners. His son has got the survivorship of his place, and does the business of it.

He does not belong any more to the *Soixante*.

IX.

CHAMBERON, originally of Languedoc, of a very low extraction: it is even believed that he has been a footman. This, however, is certain, that from a petty Clerk in the office of a private Receiver of the King's rents, and Comptroller of the Provincial decrees, he became Clerk of the general direction of these same rents at Montpellier, and gave so many proofs of his capacity in that branch, that he was sent for to Paris, and in the year 1719 was placed at the head of one of the offices for settling the taxes, under the lease of Pillavoine, afterwards, in 1721, under the administration of Charles Cordier. He was made Sub Farmer in 1726, being concerned in several under farms by his marriage with the eldest daughter of M. Beillon, Director of the less Excise of salt. He was appointed Farmer General in the room of Desvieux.

This family is no longer among the *Soixante*.

X.

CHEVALIER DE MONTIGNY, was son to the former *Chevalier*, Farmer General, who was brother to the great *Chevalier*, the right hand of M. Colbert, Minister of State. They come from Sedan, where the grandfather of this man was Bailiff. His mother was a Mademoiselle d'Augny, of a family belonging to the law, in the city of Metz*, of which family there have been two Presidents *à Mortier* in the Parliament of that city. She was aunt to d'Augny, Farmer General, father to the present Farmer General. This Montigny's father was very rich, and very covetous: he saw only his own family. They owed all their fortune

to

* The name of which is Estienne.

to the contracts for furnishing the troops in the three bishopricks with provisions, which they did for a considerable time. The Montigny we are now speaking of, began by being Receiver of the Farms at Mentz, and has made his way to the post of Farmer General, which his father had. He is the most unfeeling man in the farms. He is so well known by his brethren, that they have intrusted him with the examining and passing of all the bills of articles furnished for the service of the company.

And indeed his greatest pleasure is the finding something to retrench, whether in the articles provided, or in the estimates; and, if it may be said, to the praise of some of his brethren, that they are fathers to the people employed, this man is their tyrant.

XI.

DANGÉ. It is said, that he had been a footman; others give him a more exalted birth, and say that he was the son of a cooper; that he afterwards was Clerk to M. d'Argenson the father, then Lieutenant of the police, since Keeper of the Seals. His post cost him 200,000 livres*, which he gave to the person who procured it for him. He had married his daughter, who is since dead, to the Marquis de Paulmy d'Argenson, then Ambassador in Switzerland†. An adventure happened to him at the opera, which deserves to be mentioned here. One day, when he was at that theatre, M. de Berenger, Lieutenant-General, and who had the blue riband, passed close by him; Dangé took him for one of his intimates, and gave him a slap on the face, a kind of polite salutation very common among persons of his stamp; but on perceiving

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his

* Upwards of eight thousand pounds.

† Since Secretary of State for the War department, after the disgrace of his uncle Count d'Argenson, on the 4th of February 1757: he was afterwards removed from that post, and sent Ambassador into Poland, from whence he returned in 1764. This Marquis de Paulmy's second wife, was the daughter of the First President of Dijon.

his mistake, he threw himself at the Count's feet, and implored pardon for his impudence. The Count, whose bravery was well known, and who could not therefore resent such an accident, forgave him, recommending it to him, at the same time, to be less familiar in future. Dangé was very rich, and very avaricious, and was an insolent coxcomb. He was one of the most zealous protectors of *la Paris*, with whom he used to go and relax from the great fatigues of his post.

He died in an advanced age, and extremely rich.

XII.

DARLUS was son to a Merchant of the town of Angers, and relation to all the Darlus's, wine-merchants and woollen-drapers. He was Clerk under Gosseau, Farmer General; his abilities and extraordinary accuracy, raised him to the highest places, which he has always filled with great credit. After having been Under Farmer of the subsidies, he was put at the head of the Office of Accounts for export and import duties, at the Hotel of the Farms, under the inspection of Charles Cordier. He was afterwards appointed Farmer General in the lease of 1726. Upon the reputation he had of being the ablest man in the line of finance, and upon the character given him by M. de la Porte, Accountant General of the farms, M. le Pelletier Desforts, in looking over the list of the Farmers General, inserted the name of M. Darlus, among the ten places that were to be given away, though he only knew him by reputation. Darlus was a very honest man, very sweet tempered, completely polite, and very charitable. He left two daughters, who are married, the one to Thiroux, and the other to M. Daleray, a Lawyer.

XIII.

DE BEAUFORT was of a family of some rank, but was not very rich. He had been employed very young, and had succeeded tolerably well; so that, after having been Director of Extra-affairs, in the time of the late King,

King, he had a share in a number of contracts, while M. de Chamillart was Minister, by which he was a considerable gainer. He was afterwards Under Farmer of the Aids, appointed Farmer general in 1721, and continued in the lease of 1726. He married his daughter to M. Boulongne *, First Clerk, and now Intendant of finances. This Beaufort was an able man in many respects, very honest, but extremely parsimonious.

XIV.

DE BEAUMONT was for a long time in a low rank in the Farms General, where, after having filled several of the first employments, he was for his capacity advanced to the post of Director General of the Farms in the department of Amiens.

He was appointed Farmer General under M. Orry †, Comptroller General in 1730. He is of a creditable tradesman's family, a tolerable honest man, and very laborious.

XV.

DE GUISY, descended from a family of Andely, in Normandy; himself son of a surgeon of that place. He married a niece of la Haye, Farmer General, who was his patron. He was afterwards travelling Clerk of the subsidies at Corbeil, then Circuit Comptroller, and afterwards for a long while Director, Under Farmer, and at last Farmer General; a place which he obtained by his capacity. He has a very handsome country house at Clamart under Meudon.

XVI.

DE DELAY DE LA GARDE, a native of Paris, and son to Delay, Clerk in the Secretary's office at the Hotel of the Farms. This man, the elder la Garde, was of Swiss extraction by his father, who was Swiss

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porter

* Son to Lewis Boulongne, who was first painter to the King. The post of First Clerk of finances, had been occupied by old Couturier, whose Clerk Boulongne had been.

† Successor to M. Desforts.

porter to the Cardinal de Bonzi, died in that post, and left his widow unprovided for. The son, for a beginning was placed as a supernumerary Clerk in the office of M. de l'Epineau, whom he had served as butler, while he was one of the principal Clerks of M. Desmarets, Comptroller General of finances in the department of the annuities of the *Hotel de Ville* at Paris. It was in that family that M. de la Garde got advanced by his assiduity in business. He made a considerable fortune by several changes that happened in that department, by new establishments, and changes of the Accountants, Comptrollers, and Syndics, having always been employed in collecting the payments for those offices. Good fortune and opportunities, more than his capacity, which is but moderate, raised him by degrees to the office of Paymaster of the annuities. He found means to obtain an employment of the same kind for Roussel, his father-in-law, who was a salesman in the Markets, and whose daughter had brought him a portion of 150,000 livres*.

He afterwards got himself appointed King's Secretary in the Grand College, of which he is at present *Syndic*. He was named one of the Farmers General towards the end of Charles Cordier's lease, at the recommendation of the Duke du Maine, whose rents were in his department. It cost him 120,000 livres † for obtaining this place, after the death of *Salins*.

He is a little man, of a pleasing countenance, fond of his person, polite to the greatest degree of affectation, but obstinate beyond example, and fortunate enough, without deserving to be so. He does not in the least understand the finances of the farms; in other respects, he is troublesome and suspicious. He would perhaps be more generous, were it not for his wife, who carries her economy even to sordidness. He has two sons, one of which is already admitted Paymaster of annuities, and has the survivorship of the post of Farmer General, by his marriage with Mademoiselle de

* A little above six thousand pounds sterling.

† Five thousand pounds sterling, paid to the Dukes du Maine.

de Ligneville *. The other is Counsellor in the Grand Council, Master of Requests, and Commander of the order of *Saint Lazare*. This last is very amiable, and as generous as his brother is parsimonious. His father obtained an order from the King to send him to *La Fleche*, where he remained but six months, on account of an attachment, more spiritual than corporal, which he was disposed to contract with Mademoiselle de Saint Phalier. It cost M. de la Garde, the father, 60,000 livres †, to buy off the claims of that Lady upon his son's heart: he was first married to Mademoiselle Duval, a very deserving Lady, and very well educated.

Mademoiselle Duval, daughter to M. Duval de l'Epinoy, died without leaving any children, and M. de la Garde was afterwards married to Mademoiselle Fenelon, daughter to the Marquis de Fenelon, who has been Ambassador in Holland.

The picture we give here of the younger La Garde is a true one, and forms an absolute contrast with that of the eldest; who has inspired his wife with a spirit of avarice that governs him, and is clearly seen through his affected haughtiness and magnificence.

Their father died on the 10th of October 1754. He had good qualities, which caused him to be regretted; he was very pious, and extremely charitable. He was obliged to conceal from his wife the exertions of his benevolence, which were not always made with a good grace. His family, and that of his wife, are very poor, and very numerous; and he has insured a decent livelihood to them all, by his will, which is too long by three fourths. In it he makes a tedious discourse upon the libertinism of his children, with childish digressions, agreeable to the character generally attributed to him, and which is a true one.

XVII.

DE LA BORDE, of a very good family of merchants at Bourdeaux, originally from Languedoc. He him-

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self

* Of the House of Ligneville in Lorraine.

† Two thousand five hundred pounds.

self was deputed by that town to the Council of Commerce, before he was Farmer General. He is one of the ablest financiers belonging to the Company, particularly in the commercial branch. He is a very honest man.

XVIII.

GAILLARD DE LA BOUEXIERE, a man of mean extraction, who had been footman; and afterwards *valet de chambre* to a Nobleman; who got him an employment as a reward for his services. His first business was in the Domains, where he applied so closely, that he became a very able man in a very short time.

He was Director in that branch in several provinces, and Farmer General under the direction of Charles Cordier, in 1721. During the course of that lease, he made a new book of rates, of the duties of Comptroll of the records of Notaries, with instructions to distinguish the nature of each record; a very useful work to all Receivers and Comptrollers of those duties, and for which a gratification of 100,000 livres * was given him. He was kept in his place in the lease of 1726, and in those which followed.

He was a very laborious man, talked little, and was exceedingly harsh. His son had the survivorship, though very ignorant, and one of the most morose men in the world. He affects to be a man of *virtù*.

La Bouexiere has resigned his place to his son, and is retired to Gagny, where he lives like a Prince.

His son is unmarried; he has built an enormous palace at the foot of Mont-martre. The building is without any taste, and ill-distributed; the furniture immensely rich; there are 25,000 livres † worth of girandoles, and 60,000 livres ‡ of looking-glasses. It only consists of six rooms. This Louvre dwindles into the little apartment of a batchelor.

He

* A little above four thousand pounds sterling.

† About one thousand and forty-one pounds sterling.

‡ Two thousand five hundred pounds.

He has a brother (M. de Gagny) Receiver General of finances, who is a very amiable man, and lives with him.

De la Bouexiere is dead.

XIX.

DE LA GOMBRAUDE has been employed for a long while in the private tobacco farms, of which he was become Director General, when that farm was given up to the India Company. At last, some time after the farm of tobacco was reunited to the general farms, he was appointed to a Farmer General's place, which was just vacant; but he did not keep it long, death having carried him off too soon. He left but a small fortune to his heirs, that place having cost him very dear. He was a very honest man, laborious, and very charitable.

XX.

DE LA HAYE, born at Paris, and originally from La Roche-guyon. His father was son to a farmer of M. de la Roche-guyon. Through this Nobleman's protection, he was admitted in the under farms of Aids, where he began the fortune which his son has since increased so much. This last served an apprenticeship in the Aids at Corbeil, and at Melun, where his father sent him as Receiver, under the direction of M. Chaumat, who was one of his creatures. As he was fond of pleasure, he did not think it necessary to apply himself to his profession, which did not please him much in the beginning.

He frequented the best company in the place, gave balls to the ladies, and, in a word, indulged himself in all kinds of pleasures; so that at the end of seven or eight months he was no better acquainted with his business than at first. His father, wanting to be informed of his son's progress since he had sent him away, wrote for that purpose to the Director. M. Chaumat owned to him, that he had only minded his pleasures. He was ordered to return to Paris, and the strong lectures which he received probably had their effect; for at his return to Melun, he attached

himself so much to his business, that at the end of eighteen months, or two years, he was able to direct a Court of Subsidies, with the assistance of M. Chaumat. His father, who wanted to employ him, not having then any Direction vacant, and not chosing to suffer him to cool about business, induced the Company to consent that he should be deputed to direct the Court of Subsidies of Melun, instead of M. Chaumat, who was appointed to that which was quitted by young De la Haye.

Many persons will not look upon this as a handsome proceeding. In fact, M. Chaumat remained in this situation for several years; but he lost nothing by it; for on the one hand La Haye, the father, procured him successively the direction of Montdidier and Amiens, which are considerable employments; on the other, M. De la Haye, the son made him amends for the mortification he occasioned him, and has been the means of his acquiring a considerable fortune. M. De la Haye has been for a long while Under Farmer, and was appointed Farmer General in the lease of Armand Lambert, in 1718. He is in the same situation at present, and is one of the ablest men in the department of the Aids. He is very harsh, and exceedingly reserved; firm in his opinions, not very obliging, and affects devotion. He has no children, and is immensely rich. He has two brothers, and several nephews and nieces, whom he takes care of.

He died in 1753. He had bought of Dupin, Farmer General, the superb hotel Lambert, situated on the point of the island of St. Louis, which he has prodigiously enlarged. The catalogue of his library, drawn up by Martin, is printed in octavo.

XXI.

DEJEAN. His father was Under Farmer of the Aids and Domains, in different generalities. He is descended from a very good family at Berry. He was Under Farmer for a long while, jointly with his father. He was appointed Farmer General in 1721, and was one of the ten that were dismissed.

He

He is a very sensible, polite man, but fonder of pleasure than of business, without, however, hurting his affairs. He is at present one of the Farmers of the gunpowder and saltpetre magazines. He is a man of great neatness, and of wonderful magnificence in every thing. He has taste and delicacy. He has a brother in the service, who was a Colonel in the reign of the late King.

XXII.

DE LA MOTTE, formerly Cashier and Receiver of the Farms. After having filled several other considerable employments, he has been engaged in several undertakings. He is uncle by the mother's side to the Marchioness of Pompadour, at whose recommendation he was made Farmer General. He is a good man, and friend to La Berthelin of the Opera.

This Berthelin is not an actress, she is a girl of merit, sister to Berthelin called Neuville, Treasurer of the Opera, formerly candle-snuffer.

XXIII.

DE LA PORTE, *the elder*, son to La Porte, likewise Farmer General; a man of a great deal of knowledge: The La Porte in question was a great Courtier, and very capable of being at the head of the finances. He was a long time Accomptant General of the farms, in quality of Dean of the Company; of which employment he acquitted himself with great credit till his death. He used to make great promises, but did not always keep his word; which was sometimes occasioned by the interference of certain powers, who carry off the most capital employments. In other respects he was polite, much beloved, and fond of doing service. He was very magnificent, and kept one of the best tables in Paris. He had been married to the daughter of Soubeyran, King's Secretary at the Grand College, Keeper of the Mortgages, and Manager of the Hospital of Paris; who left 70,000 livres * a year to the Intendant of Dauphiny, son to M. la Porte, of whom we are speaking.

Though

* Near three thousand pounds sterling.

Though he was a widower very early, he did not marry again, on account of his son, to whom he gave an excellent education. He ought to have left a considerable fortune, but he died poor.

XXIV.

DE LA PORTE DE SERANCOURT was son to De la Porte de Serancourt, an antient Farmer General, and nephew to De la Porte, also Farmer General, who was made Keeper of the Accounts of the Farms, to act in concert with the Comptroller General, as Chief of the Company. He was likewise brother to La Porte de Montel, Steward of the King's Household. He was by no means so able a man as his elder brother; but, on the other hand, he was amiable in society, and saw a great deal of company. He was rather too fond of the table, and good living: accordingly he died in the middle of an entertainment, of an apoplectic stroke, which carried him off, without giving him time to speak a word.

XXV.

DE LA PORTE DUPLESSIS was appointed Farmer General after the death of M. de Serancourt; but though he bore the same name, he was no relation of the two De la Portes we have been speaking of.

He had been Director General of the farms at Lisle, before he was Farmer General, and had exercised several other employments, in which he had always given proofs of his capacity. He was one of the ablest financiers in the five large farms. He was not proud—kept a good table—was very polite, and always saw good company.

XXVI.

DE ROSSY, nephew by his wife to the brothers Paris. He was named Farmer General in the department of Charles Cordier, in 1721, under the administration of M. Pelletier de la Houffaye, Comptroller General of Finances. He was dismissed from this place in 1726, because he was related to the Paris, and protected by the Duke of Bourbon; which, at that time, was a crime.

crime. He was a plain man, of whom one can say neither good nor harm.

XXVII.

DE SALINS, of a tolerable good family, originally of Burgundy. Employed from his earliest youth in the Farms General, he began by being Comptroller of Foreign Duties; and was afterwards, successively, Receiver, Comptroller, and Director of Farms, for a considerable time. He was taken from thence to be Farmer of the district of Charles Cordier, in 1721, under the administration of M. Pelletier de la Houssaye. He was continued in the lease of 1726,; towards the end of which he died a bachelor. He left a considerable fortune to some of his nephews and nieces. He was the ablest man in the farms, and a living register of all the regulations made since their establishment, to his time. He was an honest man—disposed to be serviceable—respected by his brethren—had no pride—and would never have any other equipage than a sedan chair. De La Garde succeeded him as Farmer General.

XXVIII.

DE SAINT VALLERY was in possession of capital employments before he was Farmer General, in the department of Charles Cordier, in 1721. He likewise was turned out in 1726, because he was protected by the Duke of Bourbon. He was not a laborious man, nor fit for the detail of the farms; he was haughty and mean, of a tradesman's family. It is of him that Gresset said, in his *Méchant*,

Ce sont les Vétérans de la fatuité*.

XXIX.

DESVIEUX was son to a Lawyer of the Council at Paris. He had been one himself before he belonged to the Under Farms, where he remained a long time. He was appointed Farmer General in 1721, and was continued by M. le Pelletier Desforts in 1726. He remained there 'till his death, which happened in a manner rather

* These are your veteran coxcombs,

rather uncommon to people of that profession ; for he died of grief, though he was worth at least three millions †: the fact is this:

There happened to be a place vacated in his department, which he filled up, notwithstanding the application that had been made to him for it by M. de Fagon, Intendant of Finances, son to the First Physician. Every body was acquainted with this Fagon, and with his haughtiness. He was piqued at this behaviour in Desvieux, who was naturally vain and presumptuous beyond example. Desvieux, unable either to excuse himself, or to answer in the manner he wished the reproaches of M. Fagon, as soon as he got home, took to his bed, and died in three days. He left a son, President of the Court of Requests of the Parliament ; and several daughters, who were well married, one of them to M. Joly de Fleuri, Attorney General of the Parliament.

XXX.

Duché was appointed Farmer General in the district of Charles Cordier, in 1721, under the administration of M. le Pelletier de la Houffaye. He was of a noble family in the law, originally of Montpellier. His ancestors were Attornies General for the Court of Aids of that town. Some of them are still in possession of that place. He had been in the army. After he had quitted it, he was appointed Farmer General, by the interest he had with the Regent. He was dismissed in 1726: and died without being able to do any thing for his family. He has had many nephews, who were killed in the army ; was a very honest man, and very fond of the sex, in *their tenderer years*. Rousseau addressed some of his pieces to him.

XXXI.

DE CLUZEL DE LA CHAUSSÉE is son to a Gentleman of a good family from Perigord. Some family reasons obliged him to apply to business. He was appointed Farmer General in the lease of Peter Carlier, in 1726, under the ministry of M. Pelletier Desforts, Comp-

† One hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds.

Comptroller General, and continued under those of Messieurs Orry and Machault, in the subsequent leases, to the present time. He is a very honest man, and not in the least calculated for a Farmer General.

XXXII.

DUPLEIX DE BACQUINCOURT came from the Mâconnois, and was grandson to a Notary of Mâcon. He had a brother in the same country, who was a carrier. Their father had been Under Farmer in the province. He has still in the same place, as well as at Chattelleraud, some relations, for whom he never would do any thing. Some time since, one of his near relations came to him, to ask for employment; his vanity prevented his either acknowledging or interesting himself for him. He was for a long while Director of the India Company. He placed his brother in the sea service of the Company, who distinguished himself there, and arrived to the rank of Governor of Pondicherry. In that post he maintained his reputation, when the English came to lay siege to the town in 1747. He made so vigorous a resistance, that he obliged the enemy to raise the siege. The Farmer General is haughty, mean, ill-tempered, and very severe, incapable of doing any body a service. He has had three wives, all of them women of merit. He died the 13th of November 1750, aged 56, with grief, on account of the law-suit which his brother, Governor of Pondicherry, had instituted against the famous la Bourdonnais, concerning the spoils of Madras, of which Dupleix and la Bourdonnais had availed themselves, to the prejudice of the King.

XXXIII.

DUPIN, originally of Chateau-roux in Berry, in the generality of Bourges, of a family of the province. His father was Receiver of taxes in the Court of Subsidies of Chateau-roux. He was for a long time a Lieutenant in the regiment of Noailles, and was cashiered for being concerned in a riot.

He was a tolerable engineer. He took the post of Receiver of Taxes, which his father had enjoyed, and held

held it till the happy era of his marriage with the daughter of la Fontaine and Samuel Bernard. This marriage was brought about, as is well known, in the most extraordinary manner, and by a meer effect of chance, which presided over his lucky destiny. Mademoiselle de Barbançois, daughter to Madame de la Fontaine, after having taken the waters of Bourbon for a decline, in her way to Paris, passed through the town of Chateau-roux, and was taken very ill at the hotel of Saint Catherine, where she had alighted. Dupin, who was naturally extremely polite, being informed of the accident, without being acquainted, and even without having ever seen her, went to offer her an apartment at his house. The Lady made a great deal of difficulty to accept of his offers; he repeated them with so good a grace, and pressed her so much, that she fixed herself and all her suite in his house, which was the most convenient one in all the town. He carried his gallantry still farther; the Lady being recovered by his good care, and without his having suffered her to be at any kind of expence, he undertook to reconduct her to Paris, to be at hand to give her assistance in case of a relapse on the road. As soon as she arrived she engaged Dupin to visit her mother, that he might receive her thanks. Madame Fontaine, as well as her daughter, thought this behaviour so uncommon, that she was incessantly bestowing encomiums upon it; so that the famous Bernard was determined to see Dupin. He found that his understanding answered to his appearance, and was very desirous of returning his obligations to him. He inquired exactly about his situation. Dupin told him he was a widower*, and Bernard offered him in marriage the second daughter of Madame Fontaine, with the two posts of Receiver General of the Finances of the three bishoprics. The Lady was young and handsome, and the proposals were accepted. Dupin by his marriage
fixed

* He had a son by this first marriage. He procured him a place of Secretary to the King's cabinet, and of Receiver General of Finances. He is called Dupin de Francernil.

fixed his abode at Paris. Some time afterwards the Farms General were advertised—Bernard, by his credit, obtained of the Minister, M. le Pelletier Desforts, one of the ten places for Dupin, who was made Farmer General the 1st of October 1726: he advanced him all the capital he wanted.

Two or three years afterwards, Madame Dupin was at her mother's house at Passy, who being a little indisposed, wanted something which was locked up in her closet: her woman not being at hand, she told her daughter to fetch it for her; Madame Dupin, searching for what her mother wanted, perceived, in a silver watering-pot, a paper, which she unfolded; she found that it was her husband's acknowledgment to M. Bernard for 500,000 livres*, that he had advanced him for his place. Instead of tearing the note, she swallowed it, for fear of any traces of it being found. It was not 'till some time after that her mother found it out—recollecting that no one except her daughter, had looked into her closet, she readily conjectured that no other person could have taken away a paper, which was of no use but to her or Bernard.

This event has been known but by few people, and produced a quarrel, for many years, between Dupin and his wife, and Bernard, who refused to see either of them; but, as the husband was not concerned in it, he forgave them, and made them a present of the sum.

Madame Dupin had a sister (also a natural daughter of Samuel Bernard and la Fontaine) who was married to la Touche, Secretary to the King; whom she forsook in 1737, to follow a gallant into England, from whence she returned, a few years after the death of her husband.

XXXIV.

DURAND DE MEZY, born of a very good family, but not very rich. Though he had had a good education, he was in his youth servant to M. Colbert, Archbishop of Rouen, son to the Minister. One day (it is
not

* Near twenty-one thousand pounds.

not very well known for what reason) this Prelate being angry, forgot himself so much, as to give him a slap on the face. Durand made the Prelate sensible that he was not born to put up with such treatment, and immediately demanded his dismissal. The Archbishop, seeing him more affected than persons in his situation seem intitled to be, repented of his vivacity, and was desirous of knowing who he was: when he was informed, he ordered him to be clothed according to his birth, gave him a sum of money, and a letter of recommendation to M. Colbert. The Minister having questioned him, and finding he had all the talents requisite for a good financier, placed him in his offices, and in several others successively, where he acquired a considerable fortune. He was made Farmer General in the district of Charles Cordier, in 1721, under M. le Pelletier de la Houssaye, and was turned out in the lease of Peter Carlier, in 1726, because he was protested by the Duke of Bourbon: he was the most able and most noted man of the farms.

XXXV.

DUREY D'ARNONCOURT, of a good family of Physicians, of Beaune, son to a Receiver General of Finances, in the county of Burgundy, whose two places he is in possession of. His appointment to the Farms General is the consequence of his marriage with the Daughter of M. Berthier de Souvigny, Intendant of Paris, nephew to M. Orry, Comptroller General. He is very little versed in the finances of the farms, which he does not even understand in the least, and consequently he does not trouble himself about the business, being moreover sufficiently engaged with his mistresses, to whom he gives up all his time, and very little money. His gallantries do not prevent him from being sparing in his domestic concerns, even to avarice. He is incapable of doing any good, except to a few mean flatterers, who encourage him in his two favourite passions, his avarice and his taste for women. He scarce sees any persons, but such who are attracted by his table; which, however, is very moderate.

derate. He affects to be a man of wit, quoting upon every occasion poetry, and scraps of Latin; but he is merely an extravagant fellow. It has cost him more than 100,000 livres * to be continued in the lease of 1740. He is brother to Durey de Sauroy, formerly Paymaster General of the army in time of war—of the President Durey—and of Durey de Noinville, Master of Requests.

He is immensely rich, having a revenue of four hundred thousand livres * yearly. He has only one son, who has been obliged to quit his country on account of debts, which it is shameful in his father not to pay, and which are not very considerable. He rather chooses to see him lead a vagabond life, lose the prime of his youth, and render himself unfit for any thing, than to make the least exertion in his favour. His wife is retired to Morsan, where she lives at a distance from him, sooner than be witness to a disorderly life, which he punishes so severely in his son, after he has set him the example of it.

XXXVI.

DE VAUCEL, originally from Evreux, son to a wholesale woollen-draper. He had gone through several employments, before he attained that of Farmer General. He was appointed to that post in the lease of Cordier, in 1721, by the interest of M. Tachereau de Baudry, Counsellor of State, who obtained it for him of Molé, Comptroller General. He was continued in the lease of 1726. He was a man of rather slender abilities, plain in his manners, rather close, and who never went beyond his powers. M. le Pelletier Desforts protected him more than any of his colleagues.

XXXVII.

STEPHEN D'AUGNY, originally of the town of Metz, of a family in the law, in which there have been two Presidents *à Mortier* in the Parliament of the same city.

* Between four and five thousand pounds.

† Between nineteen and twenty thousand pounds.

city. He had a brother and two relations very high in the King's service.

As for himself, although he was of a moderate capacity, he has always been in the first employments, where his assiduity and patronage supplied the place of talents. After having been Under Farmer of the Aids and Domains, he was made chief of the Office, in the excise for salt, of the farms, in 1779. He was appointed Farmer General in 1721, to the prejudice of Durand, his brother-in-law, who had much more capacity; which occasioned a great jealousy among his brethren. D'Augny, however, was the best man in the world, and the most humane. His birth, and the good education he had received, prevented him from becoming a coxcomb. He was a very sober man, without passions for either women or wine; but he was a great eater. In his life-time his son had the survivorship of the farms given to him, the duties of which he filled with his father. He is still Farmer General, but much unlike his father, since he is very fond of women, and has a mistress who is very expensive: this is *la Gogo*, who shone formerly upon the theatre of the *Opéra Comique*, and who at present belongs to the *Comédie Francoise*.

He has a magnificent hotel at la Grange Batteliere, with *petits appartements*, as the King has, baths, farmyards, &c.

This d'Augny married a little singer, called la Liancourt, natural daughter to an actress of the opera, whose name was Duval.

XXXVIII.

FILLION DE VILLEMUR, originally from Rheims, had been in the lowest employments of the farms, and, from one step to another, arrived so rapidly to the highest, that one can scarce follow him in the career of his fortune.

He became Under Farmer in 1718. He was made Farmer General in 1719, under the ministry of M. de Noailles; continued in 1721, and in the succeeding leases. He had bought the post of Keeper of the Royal
Treasure,

Treasure, from M. Gruin, who was ordered to sell out, and he remained in this post till his death. He was a very able man in the Farms General and Finances. He was excessively polite, rather too much affected, vain, proud, immoderately ambitious, and immensely rich. Law's system contributed much to his fortune, as he obtained a great many shares at first hand. He has been at once Farmer General, Secretary to the King, Receiver General of the Finances of the generality of Paris; and the office of the generality of Rouen was at the same time given to one of his sons. The eldest had the survivorship of the place of Farmer General, which he filled in his father's life-time, and which, after his death, he preferred to that of Keeper of the Royal Treasure.

XXXIX.

FONTAINE has been concerned in supplying the invalids, and other contracts, and was afterwards Farmer General, at the recommendation of M. Portail, First President of the Parliament of Paris, towards the end of the lease of Peter Carlier. This place was given to him in favour of the marriage of M. Portail the son, President à Mortier, with the grand-daughter of this Fontaine; whose mother was daughter of a man called le Riche, who had gained an immense fortune in different affairs, and on board of ship. His son has had the survivorship of his place. This Farmer is a very honest, sincere man, but he does not either take any great pains in his situation, nor is he skilled in the affairs of the farms.

XL.

GIRARD did not possess any considerable employments before he was made Overseer of the Customs, established in 1722, under the name of Martin Girard. He was appointed Farmer General by the Duke of Bourbon, Prime Minister. His brother was Secretary of the *Campaneries* of that Prince, and of the States of the Province of Burgundy. He was turned out under M. le Pelletier Desforts, in 1726, on account of the
the

the protection of the Duke of Bourbon, odious to Cardinal Fleuri, who had just supplanted this Prime Minister, the 11th of June 1726. He was a very mild and plain man.

XLJ.

GRIMOD DE LA REYNIERE was born at Paris. His father was Farmer General, and originally of Lyons, of a tradesman's family. He entered into office very young, where he learnt the business of the farms. He was appointed Farmer General in the lease of Charles Cordier, in 1721, and continued in all the subsequent leases. He understands the business of the farms very well; but his violence is so excessive, that it sometimes degenerates into brutality, especially when he has the gout, which happens very often. He is also Farmer General of the Posts. He is very rich, and has a wife who is impertinent to a degree. One day, at a sermon in the church of Saint André des Arts, and having only two or three chairs for her use, she said, very loud, she wished that a louis was paid for every chair. An old officer, who was behind her, said, "You are in the right, my good dame, for you seem to have more money than understanding." She was followed to her coach by all the people, repeating this affront; which has not corrected her. This Grimod de la Reyniere married his daughter to M. de Maleherbes, son of the President de Lamoignon Blancmenil, since Chancellor of France.

XLII.

GRIMOD DUFORT, brother to Grimod de la Reyniere, was also employed very young in the finances, where he remained a long while. He acquired there some knowledge; was appointed Farmer General in 1721, and continued in the ensuing leases. He was at the head of the farms of the posts, was very obliging, very noble in his manners, and very rich. His second wife was a Mademoiselle de Collincourt, of a good family of Picardy, who was with child of a boy at his death. She was a relation of M. d'Argenson. This

Dufort

Dufort followed the King in his last campaign, as Intendant of the Posts.

He had bought the hotel de Chamillart, built in a sumptuous manner by the Comptroller General of that name, and Dufort, not finding it convenient enough, spent about 200,000 livres* in embellishing it.

XLIII.

HATTE was one of the four Secretaries of the Council, when he was appointed Farmer General under M. Le Pelletier Desforts in 1726. He is thought tolerably skilled in the farms general, is a good kind of man, and does not live with his wife, who has been mistress to the Marquis d'Oise-Brancas, and to several others, &c. He takes care to revenge himself of her infidelities.

He left an immense fortune. He has two daughters, one of whom is married to M. Girardin de Vaudray, Master of Requests, and the other to the Marquis de Vieux Maisons.

Hatte's wife has had a natural son by the Marquis d'Oise, born after her marriage, called Maison-Rouge, made Captain in the regiment of Aunis, at the time when the Marquis of Brancas-Villeneuve was Colonel of it. He is Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis, and, in 1764 and 1765, brought an action of *éclat*, to make himself be acknowledged legitimate, in conjunction with his mother. He was baptized under the name of La Riviere, and lost his cause.

XLIV.

HELVETIUS is son to the First Physician to the Queen. The King had for a long while asked for him the post of Farmer General of Cardinal Fleuri, who had refused it, under pretence of his being too young. He has however obtained one. He is an amiable man, very fond of women, to whom he has attachments of a singular nature. He is a philosopher, and has just resigned his place to the King: it was given to Bouret d'Erigny.

* Upwards of eight thousand pounds.

d'Erigny. He only required the 50,000 livres* for alms, in the time of Cardinal Fleuri. When he quitted his place of Farmer General, he married a young lady of the house of Ligneville, younger sister to her whom La Garde had married, and in favour of whose marriage it has been observed, that the same La Garde obtained the survivorship of his father's place.

His wife, born without a fortune, daughter to the Marquis of Ligneville, of an indigent house at Nancy, was brought up and married at Paris, by Madame de Graigny, her aunt.

XLV.

HEROU DE VILLE-FOSSE, of a very good family. He had a great many considerable employments, before he was made Farmer-general in 1721. He had married one of the daughters of M. Texier, Director of the farms at Orleans; she was an intimate friend of the Marchioness de Prie †.

XLVI.

HOCQUART is of a tolerable good family. He has been employed in supplying the armies of Flanders and Germany with provisions. He was Commissary-general, and had even afterwards some concerns in business. He was made Farmer General in 1721, and continued in the following leases, and is very well versed in the farms. He has three brothers, one of whom is Intendant of the Marine at Brest, another Paymaster-General of the Artillery, and the third Captain of a ship. Their mother was the worthiest of all women. They all of them owe their rise to M. Tallon, who on account of the derangement of his affairs, was obliged to retire into Holland. He had lent sixty thousand livres ‡ to Hocquart the father. The Farmer General lives in pretty good friendship with his brothers; with regard to every body else, he is haughty, severe, and selfish.

* Upwards of two thousand pounds.

† Mistress to the Duke of Bourbon, and exiled at the time of his disgrace.

‡ Two thousand five hundred pounds.

selfish. One of his daughters is married to M. De Coſſe de Briſſac. This family affects devotion.

XLVII.

HAUDRY. This is one of thoſe phenomena of fortune which happen very ſeldom. His father was a poor baker at Corbeil, burthened with a large family. He placed his ſon with Brentin, Director of the Aids at Corbeil. By his good fortune, M. Brentin, perceiving that he was an intelligent young man, had him taught the buſineſs of the Aids, by the Clerks of the Cellars of Corbeil. He afterwards made him his Receiver; from which poſt he was created travelling Clerk, and then travelling Commiſſary of the Aids. He was taken from thence in 1715, to be directing Manager of the ſaid Aids. He was in the under farms and domains of the Aids in 1726, and Farmer General under M. Orry. He is the moſt laborious man in the farms. His brother is ſtill a baker, facing Fort-l'Evêque, at Paris.

XLVIII.

JOLY, originally from Paris, and ſon of M. Joly, Intendant of the late Princeſs of Conti, natural daughter to Lewis XIV. was appointed Farmer General in 1726. He was already worth ſeventy thouſand livres † a year, when he obtained that poſt. He was a very ordinary man, but had a great ſoul, was very generous and magnificent in every thing.

XLIX.

LA LIVE DE BELLEGARDE has, in a manner, been educated and bred up in the employments of the Farms General. He worked in them when he was very young, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſuch a manner, by his underſtanding, that he became Director General, and was appointed Farmer General in 1721, and continued in the following ſeaſes. He is one of the Secretaries to the King in the *Grand College*; he is exceedingly devout, very charitable, and a very honeſt man;

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and

† Near three thouſand pounds.

and is very well versed in the business of the five greater farms. De la Live d'Epinay, his eldest son, has got the survivorship of his place.

L.

L'ALLEMANT DE BETZ was born at Paris, son to an antient Farmer General, in the last reign. When he was very young, his father sent him into the provinces, where he made himself fit for employment. He was for a long time Comptroller General of the farms, and had the survivorship of his father's place. He contrived to obtain from Cardinal Fleuri a second post of Farmer General, for l'Allemand de Nantouillet his brother. He carried this against the King, the Queen, the King of Spain, and the Duke de la Tremouille, by giving Cardinal Fleuri two hundred thousand livres† ready money, to be laid out (as it was said) in pious works; a destination very equivocal, but which is of no consequence to history. After the death of M. de la Porte, the patronage of the farms was given to l'Allemand de Betz, who was at the head of the Company. He had solicited strongly this place, and obtained it, to the exclusion of Normant le Tournechem, who cared very little about it, and who preferred his ease to the continual bustle which was required in that place, in which one can do very little good, and disoblige many. He had the mortification to have this patronage taken from him, having (as it was said) cheated M. Machault, Comptroller General of Finances, by giving him false estimates of the produce of the farms. The patronage was given to Roussel, who had revealed to the Minister* the secret of the farms.

LI.

L'ALLEMANT DE NANTOUILLET is brother to l'Allemand de Betz, as we have just now observed. This is a haughty, giddy, and obstinate man, intoxicated with his good fortune, and frequently blundering in the affairs, which he scarcely understands; besides this, he affects to be a devotee.

These

† Upwards of eight thousand pounds.

* Successor to M. Orry, turned out in 1745.

These two l'Allemands have had a brother Bishop of Seez, and another (l'Allemand de Levignan) Intendant of Alençon since the year 1726.

LII.

LANTAGE DE FELICOURT, was born at Paris, and is son to Lantage, Under Farmer of the Aids. He had filled several employments and offices of Director of the Aids, in conjunction with his father. At length he was appointed Farmer General in 1721, and turned out in 1726, because he was a creature of the Duke of Bourbon. This is a very polite man, has had a very good education, and is of a mild disposition. His greatest pleasure is to oblige, and he does it with infinite grace. He is at present Farmer of the gunpowder and saltpetre magazines in the kingdom, in which post he is very much esteemed.

LHI.

LE MERCIER was of a very good family of Paris, in easy circumstances, and has been educated as completely as a young man can possibly be; he has always been in possession of considerable employments, and places of trust: his last post was that of Receiver General of the Port Saint Paul. He was made Farmer General in 1721. This place was only taken from him under pretence of his being a creature of the Duke of Bourbon, which was a capital crime under the administration of Cardinal Fleuri. However, he got into the under farms under the name of Quiberdier. He was the plainest and most generous man in the world, and was called the father of the Clerks.

LIV.

LE MONNOIER, born in the town of Elbeuf, in Normandy, is son to a manufacturer of woollen cloths, which still bear his name. He has been Receiver of taxes at Montivillier, in the same generality of Rouen. He had married a maid of an inn, who was extremely beautiful. James de Vitry, Farmer General in the reign of the late King, fell in love with her, and did

him a great deal of service. He was made Farmer General in 1721, by the patronage of the Duke of Luxembourg, who found his wife handsome, and by no means cruel. His grand-daughter is married to M. de Clermont de Renel *. She is a widow. This man is capable of doing good from vanity, is exceedingly trifling, but upon the whole tolerably upright.

LV.

LE RICHE DE LA POUPELINIERE is son to a Receiver General of finances, and was appointed Farmer General in the lease of the year 1718, when Count d'Argenson was Keeper of the Seals. He has a great deal of wit, is a man of the world, and keeps a good table; at which he invites all men of wit and talents, to whom he is serviceable from motives of vanity. He is extremely fond of flattery, and indeed he frequents none but those who will bestow it upon him for his money. Sometimes, however, he sees the best and the most agreeable company

He is very polite and amiable, when he is not in his days of caprice. He is very fond of women, of music, and in general of all kinds of pleasure; which prevents him from attending very closely to business. His person has made him suspected of being a man of intrigue, and it is certain that he has had some adventures. We shall content ourselves with mentioning only two of them, on account of their contrast to each other.

As he was passing a night with la Hantier of the opera, at present Madame Truchet, who was then mistress to the Prince of Carignan, the Prince, who had a master-key to all the doors, came to her that very night, and found his place occupied by M. le Riche. There arose a great dispute between these two

* From this marriage is born N----- de Clermont de Renel, wife to the Count de Stainville de Choiseul, the younger brother to the Duke de Choiseul, formerly Count de Stainville, Ambassador at Rome and at Vienna, at present Minister and Secretary of State in the war department, Colonel General of the Swiss and Grisons, Governor of Touraine, Bluc Riband, &c. &c.

two competitors, of ranks so disproportionate to meet upon such an occasion. It is pretended that M. le Riche submitted to corporal chastisement, receiving some strokes of a cane, which the Prince caused to be given to him. This is not, however, very likely; for, in that case, the Prince would, in all probability, have been contented with his revenge. He went the next day to Versailles, to desire Cardinal Fleuri to expel le Riche from the farms, for having had the insolence to put himself in competition with his Highness. The Cardinal answered—that the King did not dismiss a useful man for such a reason; but, to give the Prince some kind of satisfaction, and to leave him in the free and quiet possession of his mistress, if she could possibly be satisfied with him alone, M. le Riche was sent to Marseilles, where he remained during three years, under pretence of its being his turn. No other Farmer was sent into the country while he remained there. He spent a great deal of money in that city, and gave several entertainments to the ladies, who regretted him very much.

The other adventure is not of the same nature, or at least M. le Riche does not appear to any great advantage in it. This incident has made too much noise, not to be known by every body; but the picture we sketch would want a very principal feature, if we were to omit it. It is well known that le Riche's amiable wife is daughter to Mimi Dancourt; that she was destined to the stage from her birth, in which profession she would have excelled, having all the qualities necessary to make a good actress. The amorous financier inhumanly deprived the public of her. It is said that she was his mistress for twelve years, and, if her fidelity was answerable to her perseverance, he owed it, no doubt, to his profusion. He thought that an attachment so rare could only be rewarded by giving her his hand. At the time of their marriage, a promise of fidelity was made, which was only to terminate with their lives. Their days were passed in pleasure, and crowned with splendor and festivity; but the fortunate destiny of M. le Riche could not

protect him from the common fate of husbands. The wit and charms of his wife could not be concealed. A hero *, equally the favourite of Venus and Mars, took a liking to her. A woman is not a strong fortress; when she has no other defence than her husband, she does not hold out long against the attacks of a man accustomed to please and to subdue. Madame de la Poupeliiniere soon yielded to the conqueror; but, in order to indulge more commodiously with her lover, she contrived a chimney that turned upon springs, by which she could pass into the next house, that was hired by some persons unknown. This intercourse lasted a great while, and was at length discovered to M. le Riche by a *femme de chambre*. He was so much piqued, that he broke out in a most furious manner, and parted from his wife; who, it is said, is not sorry to be her own mistress, that she may follow her inclinations without controul.

LVI.

LE NORMANT D'ETIOLLES was born at Paris, son to le Normant, Treasurer of the Mint, grandson of the father of M. de Tournhem, Director of the King's buildings. He was under farmer, and married the daughter of M. Poisson, formerly concerned in the King's affairs. His wife was Marchioness of Pompadour.

LVII.

LE NORMANT DE TOURNHEM was born at Paris, and son to an antient Farmer General, who came originally from Orleans, of a very good family in that town. He had been Secretary to M. Hottman, Ambassador from France in Switzerland. He was made Farmer General at the death of his father, and Director of the India Company, for the arrangement of the Farms General, in the lease of the year 1715. He was continued in 1721, and in the following leases. He was appointed Director General of the King's buildings, through the patronage of the Marchioness de Pompadour, wife to le Normant d'Etioilles, his nephew,

* The Duke Richelieu.

nephew, to whom he ceded his place of Farmer General. He was a man of wit, and a subtle Courtier.

He died at Etiolles, the 27th of November 1751, aged 67.

LVIII.

MALO, originally from Burgundy, of a good family. He began by the smallest employments in the offices for Extra-affairs, where he gained a considerable fortune. He was made Farmer General in 1721, and afterwards Paymaster General of the forces in time of war. His fortune has been suddenly overturned, it is not very well known how. He was a good man.

LIX.

MARÉCHAL was born at Paris, and is son to the King's First surgeon. He was Steward of the Household to his Majesty, before he was Farmer General. As it was merely on account of his daughter that he had solicited that place, he only kept it till he found a proper match for her. She was married to M. Roussel, to whom Maréchal ceded his place. This was a very honest man.

LX.

MASSON was son of a crier of the Parliament of Paris. He obtained an employment in the Aids when he was very young, passed through a variety of employments, and was made Farmer General in - - - - . He left a son, who is a perfect bear; he was called Masson de *Maison Rouge*, and died after a considerable bankruptcy.

LXI.

MAZADE came from Gascony, of an honest tradesman's family. He entered into employment very young. He acquired, by his intelligence and assiduity, to be raised from a simple Clerk to the Directorship General of Marseilles. He was made Farmer General in 1721, and continued in 1726. His son has had the survivorship of his place, and did the business of it in his father's life-time. He was very able, and though he had preserved the characteristic of the country he came from, yet he was a very good man.

LXII.

MICAULT was born at Paris. After having had considerable employments, he was introduced into the under Farms, and became Farmer General in 1726. He is at present one of the Farmers of the gunpowder and salt-petre magazines, and of the paper manufacture at Montargis.

LXIII.

MIRLEAU DE NEUVILLE worked for a long while in the public records. He was at the head of the Customs on coarse woollen cloth, in 1719; and in 1721 he was made Sub-Farmer of the said Customs in several generalities. He was a Farmer General, and obtained the survivorship of this post for his son. They both act in their department. He is of a good tradesman's family, rather fond of expence, and does the honours of his house very well.

LXIV.

OLIVIER DE MONTLUÇON was nephew to M. Olivier de Senezan, Receiver General for the Clergy. He was in trade when he was appointed Farmer General in 1721. Not being versed in the affairs of the farms, his Secretary does all the business of his department. He was very expensive, haughty, and had an infinite deal of wit.

LXV.

PERINET was born at Sancerre in Berry. After the death of his father, he was a wine-merchant. He is related to all the Perinets de la Tour d'Argent, who are Protestants. He used to supply the Duke de Noailles with wine, by whose credit he was made Director of the India Company in 1721. He also obtained a place of Farmer General, and is one of the best men in the world.

LXVI.

REMY DE JULLY began his fortune in the lowest employments, but his assiduity has raised him to the first posts of the finance. He was Under Farmer of the

the Aids, and Farmer General, in 1721. He had a great share of probity, and was one of the most upright and plain men in the world.

LXVII.

ROLLAND D'AVEREUIL was made Farmer General in 1726, in the lease of Peter Carlier, under M. le Pelletier Desforts. He continued in the general farms till his death. He was of an honest tradesman's family, was not very rich when he died, having rendered many services in his life-time, for which he was never repaid.

LXVIII.

ROLLAND DE SOUFFERRIERE was Captain of Carabineers, and returned his commission to the King at the death of M. Rolland his brother, whose place he asked, and had no great trouble in obtaining. He acquired immense riches, and was a very different man from his brother, thinking every thing allowable that he got money by.

LXIX.

ROLLIN was brother to M. Rollin, Under Farmer of the Aids in several generalities, and Secretary to the King in the Grand College. He was appointed Farmer General in 1726, and continued in the ensuing leases. He is of an honest tradesman's family, and there is neither good nor evil to be said of him.

LXX.

ROUSSEL was a native of Paris, son of a notary, and grandson to a salesman in the market-place, nephew to M. de la Garde. He married the daughter of M. Maréchal, steward to the King's household, who gave him up his post of Farmer General. He was a man of a handsome person, spoke well and told lies with a good grace, having all the dispositions proper for his profession.

This Roussel, loaded with debt on account of his immoderate luxury, at last quitted the finance, being obliged to give up his estate to his creditors, and was succeeded by a man named Marchand, his brother-in-

law. He had two sons, one of whom is confined in St. Lazare for his bad conduct: the other has an employment in one of the provinces.

Roussel drowned himself.

LXXI.

SAVALLETTE was born at Paris, son of a notary, who was son to a vinegar-merchant. He was only Clerk at M. Fagon's, and afterwards employed in several contracts. He was married to Mademoiselle de Nocé, whose mother was the friend of Count Nocé, a favourite of the Regent, and who made him Farmer General. One of his daughters was married to M. de Courteilles, Ambassador in Switzerland, and another to the Count de Revel de Broglio. He was excessively rich, very proud, and died the 5th May 1756.

LXXII.

SAULNIER DE LA MOISSIERE had been all his life-time in the under farms, for the stamping gold and silver. He was made Farmer General in 1721, and turned out in 1726, having lost his protector. He was an able man, of an excellent disposition. It is not known whether he left any children.

LXXIII.

TEXIER was from a village called Audeme, four leagues from Montpellier, son to an inhabitant of that place. He came very young to Paris, and it is affirmed that he wore a livery. His first employment was the being Clerk of the Aids of Rouen, and afterwards Director. He had amassed a fortune, so that he married a young lady from St. Cyr. He was made Farmer General by the means of the Regent, in 1721. He was haughty, severe, and impertinent.

LXXIV.

THIROUX DE LAILLY was born at Paris, son to an ancient Farmer General, originally of Burgundy, of a noble family. This man was Treasurer to the King's household. He was made Farmer General in 1721, and

continued

continued in 1726, and was appointed Farmer of the posts. He has a great deal of wit, but pays very little regard to his word.

LXXV.

THOINARD was originally from Orleans. His father was *Lieutenant Criminel* in the Special Court of Judicature of that city. He was of a very good family, and in easy circumstances. He was put in the employments very young: the last he filled was that of Receiver at Rouen. He was afterwards in several under farms, and Inspector General of the farms at Rouen, Caen, and Alençon, in 1719. He had the address to get all his bills placed in different funds, and received ready money for them. There was no person in the world, but his wife, could vie with him in avarice; besides, he was a self-sufficient coxcomb, and, in a word, one of the refuse of mankind.

LXXVI.

VATÉOIS DU METZ. This man was not known, in the under farms. He became rich by Law's system, under the patronage of Cardinal Fleuri, from whom he obtained one of the ten places of Farmers General in 1726. He left a considerable estate at his death. He was a good kind of man. His wife was the most elegant woman in Paris, and was very haughty. Soon after the death of her husband, she married Count Wtamer, Captain in the Guards.

N°. VI.

Letter of the Duke of Bourbon to the First President of the Parliament of Paris.

Fontainebleau, 15th September, 1725.

IT is with infinite concern I see that the people have not reaped the benefit of the several orders I have given to procure them a speedy relief. I am
much

much affected with their situation; but, as the dearth they experience is the necessary consequence of a barren year, to which succeeds the confusion of the seasons, and other accidents, which human prudence could not foresee, it is not possible for me to add any thing to the orders I have given, nor to the precautions I have taken, with which you are acquainted. The success that will attend the execution of them, will quiet the murmurs of the people. I forgive them their unjust complaints, because they arise from their sufferings, because misery disturbs their reason, and because they are not capable of judging with how much attention I labour to preserve them from their terrible situation, with which I am hurt beyond expression.

But I shall not conceal from you, how much my indignation is raised against some members of the Parliament, who cannot be ignorant of the purity of my intentions, who know the motives of your Assemblies; who, nevertheless, carry their boldness and temerity so far, as to speak against their own knowledge, and who, by discourses equally false and seditious, keep up the clamours of an ill-informed people. Persons whom their oaths, and the offices which they have the honour to be invested with, engage more particularly to support the authority of the King, and to maintain order and public tranquillity.

I have given very special orders to discover those who pursue a conduct so blameable, and their licentiousness shall be punished with deserved chastisement.

What I have been saying to you, is no secret, and you need not have any kind of scruple to publish my letter.

With regard to what you send me word, that corn-merchants and bakers cannot be punished by reason of their being wanted; I think it is a very sad circumstance, that one cannot proceed against such dangerous malversations. This, however, is a case that concerns you; and I think that you ought, at least by your conversation, to shew the public the motives which prevent the punishment of their criminal proceedings. As to myself, I will support, with all suitable

ble authority, the remedies that shall be indicated to me by the Assembly over which you preside.

I have examined with much attention the memorial which the Attorney General has sent me, and I have given orders accordingly to M. Dodun, who is gone to Paris to regulate all matters in concert with you. As he is perfectly acquainted with the business, he will take care to avoid the inconveniencies mentioned in your letter, &c.

The Speech of his most Christian Majesty, pronounced in Council, on the 16th of June, 1726.

IT was time that I should take upon myself the government of my kingdom, and that I should give myself up entirely to the affection I owe to my people, to shew how much I am sensible of their attachment.

However persuaded I may be of the zeal which my cousin the Duke of Bourbon has exerted in the affairs I have intrusted to his management, and how great soever may be the affection I still have for him, yet I have thought it necessary to suppress and abolish the title and functions of Prime Minister.

I have already given orders, that the resolution I have taken to assume the government of my kingdom into my own hands, should be communicated to my Parliament of Paris, and the same shall be done with regard to my other Parliaments. I shall make it known by circular letters to all the Governors and Intendants of my provinces, and I have also ordered that notice should be given of it to my Ministers in foreign Courts. My intention is, that every thing which concerns the offices about my own person, should be upon the same footing as under the late King my great-grandfather. In the room of M. Dodun, who has asked my leave to resign, I have chosen M. Pelletier Desforts to fill up the post of Comptroller General of my finances; and M. de Breteuil having asked the same permission of me, I have appointed M. le Blanc to his post of Secretary of the War department.

The Councils shall be punctually holden on the days appointed for them, and the affairs will be conducted

ducted there as usual. With regard to the favours I may have to bestow, application must be immediately made to me, and I will put the memorial into the hands of my Keeper of the Seals, my Secretaries of State, and my Comptroller General of finance.

I shall appoint stated times for the transaction of business, at which the antient Bishop of Frejus will always attend, as well as at the other details with which different persons are intrusted, by virtue of the offices they fill. In a word, I mean to follow in every thing, as much as possible, the example of the late King my great-grandfather.

If you should think there is any other thing to be done, in these early times, you may propose it to me with confidence; and I expect, from your zeal for my service, that you should assist me in the design I have of rendering my government glorious, by making it useful to my State and to my People, whose happiness shall ever be the first object of my care.

**** Compliment addressed by Cardinal Fleuri to his most Christian Majesty, after he had received his Cardinal's hat from the King.*

SIR,

THE new dignity for which I am come to pay homage to your Majesty, how great soever it may be in itself, is still infinitely more valuable to me, because I hold it only from your Majesty's hands, and, if I may venture to say it, because it reflects no less honour on your Majesty than on myself.

Let me be permitted, Sir, publicly to make known, on this occasion, what the goodness of your heart had suggested to you in my behalf, at the time when your Majesty was not yet become the distributor of favours. Not only you had designed for me your right of nomination to the Cardinalship, without my having taken the liberty to speak of it to you, but you have further, without mentioning it to me, solicited, before the usual time, that this favour should be bestowed upon me. I acknowledge,

I acknowledge, Sir, that there is perhaps some secret and inward motive of self-love, in acquainting the public with a mark of attention in your Majesty, so gracious to me; but, on the other hand, should I not with reason be charged with ingratitude, if I should neglect announcing to the people of France, that there is in your Majesty a fund of goodness, of sentiment, and, I am not afraid to say it, of gratitude, which ought to afford the greatest comfort to your subjects?

The majesty of the throne attracts only our respect. The great talents of Princes excite admiration; their power commands awe; but it is by mildness, goodness, and humanity, that they establish their sway over our hearts. And what are not the French capable of undertaking, of doing, and even of suffering, when they think themselves beloved by their rulers?

The Eastern nations render to their Sovereigns a worship almost equal to that of the Divinity. Among the nations of Europe, there are some who wish to govern their Kings: others, which though much attached and very faithful to them, yet rather respect than love them. But the proper character of the French, is love for their King, is the desire of pleasing him, the wish of seeing, and drawing near to him, and of being beloved by him.

Your Majesty has received, from your earliest infancy, proofs of this affection. Your subjects, Sir, have loved you, before you were capable of returning their love.

Their consternation in your illness has been equal to that of a family trembling for the fate of him on whom they depend for support; and the joy they have testified at your recovery has been sometimes carried to such lengths, as almost to exceed the bounds of moderation.

With what acclamations have not your faithful people received the declaration your Majesty has made of taking the government of your kingdom into your own hands! And what happy prospect do they not think they have a right to flatter themselves with, when they see the eminent qualities of your august great-grand-

grand-father, whom you have chosen for your model, disclosing themselves more and more in your Majesty! A spirit of order and justice, a conception from which nothing escapes, an impenetrable secrecy, a rectitude of judgment, an easy and mild access, no signs of impatience, never one word, one single word disagreeable to any one, an aversion for every kind of luxury; but, what is infinitely above all, an invariable attachment to religion and respect for our holy mysteries, which no external inattention, no bad examples, can interrupt.

These, Sir, are the qualities we already admire in your Majesty, and upon which are founded the reasonable hopes your subjects entertain, of seeing you one day equal to our greatest Kings.

Nothing is more hazardous nor more difficult to answer than a great expectation; but I dare affirm, that it is in the power of your Majesty not to frustrate our hopes.

May you, Sir, fulfil them in all the extent which our necessities require! May we have the consolation to behold, renewed in your sacred person, the prudence of the King, your great-grand-father, in the art of government; all the goodness of the Dauphin, your grandfather, and all the piety of your august father. This will be, Sir, to me, the most affecting reward, I can ever receive, for my respectful, and, if I may be permitted to say so, my tender attachment to your Majesty.

N^o. VII.

Memorial for Count Broglie, Ambassador in England, respecting the French colonies in America.

At Versailles, 11th April, 1724.

NORTH AMERICA.

BY the treaty of Utrecht, the King has ceded to his Britannic Majesty Nova Scotia, otherwise

wife called Acadia, in its whole extent, agreeably to its antient limits, as also the city of Port Royal.

The claim of the English is, to include under the name of Acadia, not only the land of the peninsula, but likewise all the continent which lies to the south of the river St. Laurence, as far as the sea, which would render the English masters of all the French possessions that lie between the Green Bay and Quebec. If this claim were to take place, France would lose a part of Canada, and would be rendered incapable of keeping the rest.

England has no right to support this claim. The letters of grant which Sir William Alexander obtained in 1621, from James I. King of England, of the lands of Acadia, under the title of Nova Scotia, and of the lands of the Gulph of St. Laurence, as far as Gaspé, together with those of the coast of Nouremberg, the country of the Etechemins, from the bottom of the bay as far as New England, cannot afford a title to them.

In 1604, the French were forming a fixed settlement on the coast of Nouremberg, in the country of the Etechemins, and another at Port Royal. They had, long before this, taken possession of the lands, extending as far as the 33d degree. In the mean while, in 1607, a company was formed in England, which undertook a new settlement in Virginia, which is situated between the 35th and 40th degrees.

The English, not satisfied with the colony they had settled, would also seize upon the lands occupied by the French in 1613; they drove away those who were upon the coast of Nouremberg, in the country of the Etechemins, and at Port Royal, and continued their hostilities till 1629, when they took Quebec, and made themselves masters of all the continent which belonged to France, long before they had been there. It was during these hostilities, that the grant was made to Sir William Alexander. He asked it to a greater extent than it could be given to him, in hopes that his country might take the rest: in which he was mistaken; for all the lands of New France, Canada, and Acadia,

Acadia, having been restored to France by the treaty of St. Germain en Laye, of the 29th of March 1632, this grant could not give him a title against France; and the English have in some measure acknowledged this by the treaty of Utrecht; since it is not said there, that France shall *restore*, but shall *cede* Acadia to England; which has even required letters patent of this cession, that have been dispatched on the 6th of May, 1713. It cannot be said, that the terms of cession and restitution are synonymous, or, that the English have been inattentive to the expression, since, in the same treaty, the word *to restore to the English* is used in speaking of Hudson's Bay. The question therefore is, to find out, without regard to the title here spoken of, what were the ancient limits of Acadia.

There is no doubt but that the French discovered the continent of North America before the English; the inhabitants of Britany and Normandy, having been a fishing on the island of Newfoundland in 1504, Francis I. in 1533, caused a discovery to be made of the lands lying from the 32d degree to the 47th of north latitude, and it is *part* of these lands that are now in question.

John Verasany was the person employed; he arrived at a new land, in about 34 degrees of latitude, where he went on shore, and took possession of it for France. He ran along the coast as far as the 50th degree, and discovered in this voyage an extent of country of more than 70 leagues. He landed at different distances, in order to survey the country, and to take possession of it. He named all this extent of land *New France*, a name which it has since preserved.

Baron Lery was sent, in 1538, to form a settlement there. He landed at Sable Island, where the situation of the spot determined him to stay; but he was obliged to give it up for want of fresh water, and on account of the badness of the soil. He left some cattle there, which have multiplied, and some of which are still to be found.

James Cartier was employed after him to go to New France: he surveyed, at his first voyage, the island.

island of Newfoundland, and discovered the Gulph of Saint Laurence, with all its coasts. At the second voyage, he penetrated to the island of Saint Laurence. He returned there in 1540. He was obliged by stress of weather to stand in for the port of Carpou, in Newfoundland. From thence he went to the river Saint Laurence, as far as the port of Sainte-Croix, where he landed Count Roberval, who was chosen by the King to make the settlements in New France, and who constructed a fort at the distance of four leagues from Sainte-Croix.

Count Roberval returned the following year, and also formed a settlement on the island of Cape Breton.

The care that was taken to settle the northern part of New France, did not occasion the southern part to be neglected.

John Ribaud was chosen, in 1562, to go and make a settlement towards the 34th degree, where Verasany had first landed. Ribaud named the Cape at which he arrived, *Cape Francis*, which is distant from the Equator about 30 degrees. He caused to be fixed upon the borders of a river, which he called the River of May, a stone pillar, with a paper on which were engraved the arms of France. He named this place Charles Fort, in honour of King Charles IX.

In some ancient Dutch charts we find the names of all these rivers, which have been altered by the English. They have called the place where Charles fort was, Charles Town.

John Ribaud returned into France, and left some of his people in the country. Several of them perished; and the survivors built a vessel to carry themselves back to France. They were thrown on the English coast, where they found an English vessel, which came up with them, and in which there was a French seaman, who had sailed the year before with Captain Ribaud. The weakest of the people were put on shore, and were conducted to the Queen of England. It cannot be doubted but that it was from the account they gave, that the Queen resolved to send some people into the country from whence they came; for
in

in 1565, four English vessels arrived on the coast, and asked of Captain Laudonniere, who had been sent there in 1564, permission to take in water, of which they were much in want. They landed only upon the spot where the French were, and Captain Ribaud arrived there almost as soon as they; he then returned into Europe.

Captain Laudonniere gave the name of Carolina to this island, in honour to Charles IX.

In the same year six large Spanish ships arrived there, who took the fort from the French, and treated them with great cruelty. The Spaniards were driven away in 1567, by Captain Gourgues of Bourdeaux, who returned the same year into France. Captain Ribaud went there again a few years after this.

Although this continent belonged to the French, the English did not scruple to form settlements there.

Humphrey Gilbert went from England in 1583, with a design to establish a colony in New France. He landed on the island of Newfoundland, at a port which he called St. John's. He found there several fishing-smacks belonging to different nations, and took two French ships that were there. Philip Amadus and Arthur Barton fitted out an expedition in England to go and settle a colony on part of New France; and on the 4th of July, 1584, they landed in the 34th degree of latitude, above Carolina. In honour of Queen Elizabeth, they called the country Virginia; and after having carried on some kind of trade with the natives of the country, they returned into Europe.

The English went there again the year following, and left 107 men to settle there; but they staid no longer than one year, when they went back to England. The English returned with succours for them; but as they did not find them upon the coast, they left only 15 men there.

In 1587, they sent a hundred and fifty men, who were massacred by the natives of the country; this discouraged the English so much, that none of the fleet sent there in 1590 would remain.

The

The French, who were prevented by the continual wars prevailing in Europe, from following up their establishments in New France, continued however to send ships there, in order to trade with the natives of the country, and for the cod and whale fisheries.

The Marquisses of Courtenval and de la Roche began these settlements again in 1596. M. Chavin succeeded them, and went to Tadoussac, to Quebec, and in the river St. Laurence, where he left men to settle.

M. de Mons, Gentleman in ordinary of the King's Bedchamber, and Governor of Pons, undertook to settle a part of *New France* in 1604. He sent some ships to trade with Canada, and went to the island of St. Croix, upon the coast of Nouremberg, the country of the Etechemins, where he staid three years. He then went to Port Royal. He employed the three years of his stay in the country, in visiting the coasts, as far as the fortieth degree of latitude, and found several savages, with whom the French fishermen traded. He left M. de Potricourt, who attended to the settling of Port Royal. After his return into France, he used to send every year ships into the river St. Laurence, to trade there.

In those times, the limits ascribed to *New France*, on the western side, were, the land extending to the Pacific Ocean, beyond the Tropic of Cancer; to the south, the islands, and the Atlantic Ocean, on the side of Cuba and Hispaniola; to the east, the northern sea, which washes the coast of *New France*; and to the north, the sea which is called the Unknown sea, towards the Frozen ocean, as far as the Arctic Pole.

This is a plain relation of what has happened among the European nations, with respect to the continent of North America. It belongs to France on the claim of first possession; and, as this right cannot be lost, but by forsaking the thing possessed, it must still be reckoned as belonging to France, because, far from having forsaken it, the French have continued, and still continue to form establishments there. It is true,
that

that these settlements have not been made upon the same spot; but as they were upon the same continent of land, France cannot be supposed to have relinquished the territory, the settlement of which she had discontinued, or that upon which she had not yet made any settlement. All the nations of Europe have agreed in giving the name of New France, upon their maps, to the continent of North America; and it should seem, that acknowledging by this the property of France to it, they ought not to have thought of settling there. Nevertheless we have seen, by what has been before related, that the English settled in 1607 in Virginia; that they remained quietly there till 1613; that they continued hostilities from that time till 1629; and that they made themselves masters of all the ports that the French had upon the continent: which were restored by the treaty concluded at St. Germain en Laye in 1632.

The Dutch also sent into Newfoundland in 1609, to trade there, and in 1615 they built a fortress on the borders of the sea, in about forty degrees of latitude; they built an inland fort, which they called Orange Fort, and named the country the New Netherlands. David Hudson had made them acquainted with this land; for he had been on shore there, after having attempted in vain a passage by the North of America, to go to China and Tartary, and he had called the country Motance.

At the same time the English sent to form a settlement in about forty-one degrees of latitude. They established a colony there, and gave to the country the name of New England. The Dutch afterwards gave up their settlement to them.

The English have continued pushing on their settlements upwards, along the coast, notwithstanding any opposition they met with from the part of France, to whom the country belonged. At length, in 1700, they wanted to establish themselves beyond the river St. George. M. de Cailliere, Governor General of New France, opposed them, which occasioned some contest between the two nations.

It

It was agreed, between this Governor General and that of Boston, that the river St. George should mark out the limits of their government, upon the borders of the sea.

A French and English Officer was sent to fix a post, with the arms of their respective nations; this was executed upon a point projecting into the sea, at three leagues distance from the mouth of the river. It would be an advantage to the English, if the French would acknowledge this boundary; but, as part of the lands of the Abenakis are comprised in the English portion, this boundary cannot take place, and must therefore be fixed at Kaskebe, where the territories of the Abenakis commence. This is even conformable to the spirit of the treaty of Utrecht; which says: that *the Commissioners are to decide which are the savages in alliance with the respective nations.* There can be no doubt but that the Abenakis, who are all Catholics, must be the allies of France; and consequently their land cannot belong to the English.

The question therefore is, to decide what are the limits of Acadia, which the King has ceded to the English by the XIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht, in the following manner.

“ The most Christian King will cause to be put into
“ the hands of Great Britain, on the day that the rati-
“ fications of the treaty of the present peace are ex-
“ changed, letters and authentic documents, which
“ will testify the cession made in perpetuity to the
“ Queen, and to the Crown of Great Britain, of the
“ island of St. Kitt’s, which the subjects of her Britannic
“ Majesty henceforward shall only possess; of Nova
“ Scotia, otherwise called Acadia, in its whole extent,
“ agreeably to its antient limits; as also of the town
“ of Port Royal, at present called Annapolis Royal;
“ and generally of all the dependencies of the said
“ lands and islands of the country, together with the
“ sovereignty, possession, and all rights acquired by
“ treaty, or otherwise, which the most Christian King,
“ the Crown of France, or any of their subjects what-
“ soever, have hitherto holden upon the said islands,
“ places,

“ places, and their inhabitants ; so that the most Christian King cedes and transfers the whole to the said Queen, and to the Crown of Great Britain, and that in manner and form so ample, that it shall not be in future permitted to the subjects of the most Christian King to carry on the fishery in the said seas, bays, and other places, nearer than at the distance of thirty leagues from Nova Scotia to the south-west, beginning from Sable Island inclusive, and continuing towards the south-west.”

This article contains different arrangements. That which concerns the island of St. Kitt's, and its dependencies has been fulfilled.

The second, concerns the cession of Acadia according to its antient limits, which are to be determined ; and this is the matter in dispute between the two nations.

Upon such an occasion, the only way is to have recourse to books which have treated of this province, and which, having been written in unsuspecting times, bear testimony to the truth, which it is impossible to deny.

M. Dennis, proprietor of the land in 1604, from Cape Canso inclusive, as far as Cape Rosieres, and Governor and Lieutenant General for the King, hath published, in 1662, a geographical and historical description of the coast of North America.

In page 29 he says, that “ from the river Penobscot, to the river St. John, there may be about from forty to five-and-forty leagues. The first river is that of the Etechemins, which bears the name of the country, from Boston to Port Royal. The savages who inhabit it, have also the same name.” It cannot be doubted from this, but that that space of land was called the country of the Etechemins. In page 35, the title of his second chapter says, that, *he treats of the river St. John, of the mines of Port Royal, of all the French Bay, &c.* This title shews, that all the places spoken of there, were not Acadia ; but he explains this matter, much more clearly, in the following articles.

In

In the first, at page 56, he says: " Coming from Port Royal, going towards Long Island, and continuing six or seven leagues along the coasts, we meet with creeks, and rocks covered with trees, as far as Long Island, which is about six or seven leagues in extent. It forms a passage, to go out of the French Bay, and to proceed towards the land of Acadia, &c."

By the second article, page 58, chapter 3, he says: " coming out the French Bay to enter into Acadia, and going on towards Cape Fourchu, &c."

It is therefore indisputable, that the French Bay, from whence one goes to the land of Acadia, is a different province.

This again is very clearly seen; for after M. Dennis has spoken, at page 61, of Cape *Fourchu*,—which is as it were the end of the French Bay, on the side of Acadia, and especially of Port Rysignol and la Heve—he intitles the following chapter, at page 105, *Continuation of Acadia from la Heve to Canso, where it ends.*

Thus are the limits belonging, and tending to Acadia, very clearly described: that is to say, between Cape Canso, inclusive, on the side of the Gulph St. Laurence.

This is further confirmed, in page 126, chapter 3, where he says: " Canso is a harbour, which has full three fathoms depth, which, from the Cape, begins the entrance of the great bay of St. Laurence."

Consequently the land from Canso inclusive, to Cape Rosieres, is a province distinct and separate from Acadia; and this is so certain a fact, that M. Dennis was Proprietor and Governor of it, at the time that M. de St. Estienne was Proprietor and Governor of Acadia.

The third arrangement contains the cession of Port Royal, now called Annapolis Royal.

There is no dispute upon this article; but it is proper to observe, that the English having specifically demanded the cession of this town, have ac-

knowned that it did not make part of Acadia; it cannot therefore be doubted but that they were acquainted with the limits mentioned by M. Den-
nis.

The fourth arrangement is the cession of all the dependencies belonging to the lands, sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty and otherwise, which the King, the Crown of France, or any of their subjects whatsoever, have hitherto holden over the said islands, lands, places, and their inhabitants. With respect to this article, the business is to determine what can depend upon the lands of Acadia, and the town of Port Royal. The lands of Acadia can have no other dependencies than the islands and islets adjacent.

The ordinary dependencies of a town, are its precincts; it appears, therefore, that the English cannot pretend to any more with regard to the town of Port Royal. But if in ceding to them this town of Port Royal, it was meant at the same time to give up the province, the boundaries of that begin opposite the river St. John, following the coast as far as Cape Sable, and in the inland parts of this province adjoining to Acadia. There can be no dispute about the rest, since it contains only a general and irrevocable cession.

All that has been mentioned above, is only that Count Broglio may be informed of the rights of France, and of the claims of the English. It is not proper that the limits should be settled in Europe; it is expedient, on the contrary, that they should be so upon the spot, by the commissioners which shall be appointed by the two Kings. What Count Broglio is to negotiate at London, is, that orders should be sent to the English Governors at Boston, and in Acadia, to withdraw the troops and inhabitants, which they have placed on the lands of the savage Abenakis, the allies of France, and to abandon the forts they have built there; that they should leave these savages in peace, till these limits have been settled,

bled, and till it has been decided to which nation these people are allied.

There has been for some years a cruel war carried on between the English and the Abenakis: The first are desirous of settling and possessing themselves of the lands that do not belong to them; and the last will not suffer it; this puts the whole continent into confusion, and these unjust pretensions of the English may, in the end, occasion a rupture between the French and them. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor and Lieutenant General in New France, has written strongly to the Governor of Boston, that he should withdraw himself from the said lands, till the limits were regulated. Information has not been received of what he has done; but as most of the savage nations espouse the cause of the Abenakis, it is to be feared that all this will cause a great confusion in the country, if the English persist in keeping and in invading a territory, to which, from all that has been related, it is easy to judge that they have no right; and the King hath every reason to complain of their attempts upon this occasion. The said Count Broglio is to manage this affair, and make the Court of England sensible of the injustice of the proceeding. His Majesty could have put an end to the matter, if he had permitted the French Canadians to join the savages. The conduct of the English Governors would have justified him in doing this; but he has rather chosen to preserve the union with the Crown of England, being persuaded that that Court will settle the business.

Fishery.

The fifth arrangement of the XIIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht, after mention has been made of Acadia, is couched in the following terms:—"so that the most Christian King cedes and transfers the whole to the said Queen, and to the Crown of Great Britain, and that in manner and form so ample, that it shall not be in future permitted to

“ the subjects of the most Christian King to carry
 “ on the fishery in the said seas, bays, and other
 “ places, nearer than at the distance of 30 leagues
 “ from Nova Scotia to the south-west, beginning
 “ from Sable Island inclusive, and continuing towards
 “ the south-west.”

It is to be observed, the reason why the English make mention of the fishery, is, that when these people wanted formerly to fish upon the coast of Acadia, M. de la Tour, and the other Lords of the coast, by grants from the King of France, made them pay 50 livres* for each boat, and stopped those who were not provided with their permits. Though it should seem that the treaty explains itself pretty clearly upon the subject of the fishery, yet this matter occasions some contest between the English and French. Captain Cyprian Soudric went to Cape Breton in 1708, to settle this fishery with M. de Saint-Ovide, Governor of this island. He pretended that a line must be drawn from the westernmost cape of Sable Island, going thirty leagues east; that another should be drawn sixty leagues north and south, which should join the first line, in the west; and that from the ends of the second line, a third should be drawn on the side of the east, which makes the figure of a semicircle; and afterwards, that, at the extremity of the first line, should be drawn the one spoken of in the treaty, which is to be at thirty leagues distance from Nova Scotia. By this method, the Captain, contrary to the spirit of the treaty, wanted to make the French lose a considerable quantity of land which incontrovertibly belongs to them, since it is facing Cape Breton.

M. de Saint-Ovide opposed to this proposal the proper terms of the treaty, which says that the French shall not be permitted to fish nearer than thirty leagues distance from the coast of Nova Scotia to the south-east, from the island vulgarly called

* About two guineas.

called Sable Island inclusive, proceeding towards the south-west. M. de Saint-Ovide insisted, that in order to conform to the words of the treaty, a line must be drawn, which should run south-east, and be continued to the most western cape of Sable Island; and that from thence another line should be drawn towards the south-west, which should be at thirty leagues distance from the coasts of Acadia. Captain Sondrick persisted in his opinion, and nothing was settled.

As disputes may arise every day between the French and English, with regard to this fishery, the King desires, for the tranquillity of the two nations, and to avoid every subject of misunderstanding, that the treaty of Utrecht should be executed, and that, in consequence, the King of England should give precise orders to the Governor of Boston, or any other person, to agree fairly about the limits of this fishery, and to settle them with M. de Saint-Ovide.

Canso.

By the XIIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht, it is said that the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands whatsoever, situated at the mouth of and in the Gulph of St. Laurence, shall hereafter belong to France.

In conformity to this article, the French had taken possession of the islands of Canso, which are situated at the mouth of the Gulph of St. Laurence; they are at the entrance of that arm of the sea which forms the strait of Fronsac, made by one of the openings of the Gulph of St. Laurence, and consequently they belong incontestibly to France. Relying on the faith of the treaty, the French were in full and peaceable possession of them; they fished there, dried their cod, and carried on their trade without any disturbance from the English in the neighbouring colonies, with whom they lived upon a friendly footing, till the year 1718, when M. Smarr,

Commander of the vessel of the King of England, called the *Squirrel*, made a descent there, and, without any other reason than that of being the strongest, seized upon the merchants' ships, upon all the cod of their fishery; upon the merchandise, utensils, and other effects, and carried the rest away to Boston.

The King caused complaints to be made to the Court of England; and M. d'Heribery, a merchant of St. John de Luz, who was one of the French proprietors who had been plundered, went to London, where, upon the report and information of the Board of Trade, he obtained orders from the Lords Justices, depositaries of the royal authority in the absence of his Britannic Majesty, for the restitution of his ships, cod, merchandise, and other effects.

He repaired to Boston to solicit the execution of these orders; which he could not obtain, because, before the first complaints had been conveyed to England, M. Smart had taken the precaution to get the gift of these articles from his Britannic Majesty, and had disposed of them before the arrival of M. d'Heribery at Boston; which obliged this merchant to return to London.

He renewed his solicitations. M. Craggs, who was charged with this affair, assured him repeatedly that he and the other persons should be indemnified in money; and the Commissioners of the Board of Trade, being consulted again, declared they had nothing to say against this determination. M. d'Heribery was desired to give in a state of his claims, which he complied with; so that there was reason to think this affair would soon be terminated.

In the interim, the Board received advice that the savages, with some French, had thrown themselves into the island of Canso, and had taken from the English a quantity of effects to the amount of seven or eight hundred pounds sterling; M. d'Heribery was put off till they should acquire a fuller account of this matter.

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This obstacle was soon raised; M. de Saint-Ovide, Governor of Cape Breton, having caused a restitution to be made of part of the effects, which the French had only seized after the English had abandoned the island, having besides had no connection with the irruption of the savages.

This instance of justice was a fresh motive for obtaining the effect of the assurances that had been given. Nevertheless, after having made M. d'Heribery wait for four months, the whole terminated in proposing to him the acceptance of an order for two hundred pounds sterling; which he would not receive, because the effects amounted to more than 20,000 pounds sterling.

M. Craggs dying some time afterwards, the affair was referred to the Lord Carteret; who, at the beginning of his ministry, had promised to use every means in his power to get justice done; but all his promises ended with saying that he could do nothing.

The objection upon which this Minister insisted the most, was the sentence pronounced by the Admiralty of Boston in favour of M. Smart: to which it was answered, that the attempt in question being an infraction of treaties, committed by a Captain of one of the King of England's ships, it was from his Britannic Majesty himself, and not from the ordinary tribunal, that justice was to be expected; that the Lords Justices, depositaries of the sovereign authority in his absence, had been so well persuaded of it, that, upon the first representation, they had given orders for a full and entire restitution of the effects carried off, without paying any regard to the sentence passed at Boston, or to the grant Captain Smart had obtained of them by surprize; and that an order of so authentic a nature could not be annulled. This is so certain, that when it was proposed to refer the matter to the Council, M. d'Heribery could not find a single Lawyer who would plead for him, because, according to them, it was an affair of State, and not of Law, and that the point in question was the execution of an order given by the Lords Justices, upon the report, and with the consent, of the Board of Trade. This was in fact the only point to be determined.

Lord Carteret screened himself, by observing, that the order mentioned, that it was granted by favour, and on account of the good understanding subsisting between the two nations. Upon which it was answered—that whatever motives the Lords Justices might have thought proper to allege, their order was not the less absolute, nor the less founded on justice, so that it ought not the less to have its effect. This was stated to his Lordship both by word of mouth and in writing; and at length he answered plainly, that this order had been given improperly. The fact is, that when the order was given, it was thought that the effects were forth coming, and in that case the restitution of them might have been made without any expence to his Britannic Majesty; but as, by virtue of the gift Captain Smart had obtained, he had hastened to dispose of the said effects, even before the proprietors could get to England to lay claim to them, the indemnity must necessarily have been taken from the civil list. At last, all that M. d'Heribery was able to obtain, was an order upon the Treasury for eight hundred pounds sterling, in the month of July, 1722. This was insufficient to pay the considerable expences he had been obliged to make in a voyage on purpose to Boston, and two voyages, with a residence of three years in London; so that he has received no restitution for the plunder of his effects, amounting to upwards of 20,000 pounds sterling.

The attempt of M. Smart has been made in time of full peace, against Frenchmen and allies, in an island belonging at all times to France, and the right of which has been confirmed to her by the treaty of Utrecht. It is true, the English have contrary claims, and it may be said, that they are without foundation; but till these have been settled by the Commissioners appointed to regulate the limits, acts of violence are illegal, and consequently the act in question requires satisfaction to be made. This is what the King desires Count Broglio to ask, and wishes

wishes him to attend to this affair, till justice has been done to the French plundered by Captain Smart.

Settlement of Canso.

We see by what has been said above, that, according to the XIIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht, the Island of Canso belongs to France.

The English, not satisfied with having plundered the French in this island, contrary to all equity and reason, proceed to form settlements there, have posted garrisons and constructed forts; which is absolutely repugnant to the treaty, and to the rights of France, to whom this island belongs. If even the claims which the English have upon this spot, were as well as they are ill-founded, still it would be improper they should take possession of it, before it had been determined to which of the two nations this island belongs.

The King wishes that Count Broglio would desire the King of England to order, that this island should be evacuated, and that it should no longer be inhabited by the English: his Majesty being willing, although his right be incontestible, that no settlement shall be made there, till it be decided between the two Crowns, to which of them ~~this~~ island ought to belong.

His Majesty could have taken other measures, some time ago, for the fulfilling of this part of the treaty of Utrecht, and he had no occasion to do any thing more, than to suffer the zeal of his officers to act; but his Majesty has been ever willing to avoid any thing that could interrupt the good understanding he means to maintain. He is persuaded, that his Britannic Majesty is inspired with the same sentiments, and therefore, that he will not suffer any further complaint of this infraction.

SOUTH AMERICA.

Island of Saint Aloufia, or Saint Lucia.

The King, by edict of the month of March, 1642, ceded to the West India Company all the American islands belonging to him, among which was included that of Saint Lucia: this Company sold several of these islands, and among others, to James Houel and M. du Parquet, they sold Martinico, Grenada, the Grenadines, and Saint Lucia, by a contract of the 22d of September, 1650, confirmed by letters patent of the month of August 1651.

M. du Parquet having obtained the government of these islands, on the 22d of October following, constructed a fort at Saint Lucia, and made a considerable establishment there.

M. de Vendrogues was appointed Guardian to the children of the said Du Parquet, who died in 1658, and the King condescended to bestow upon M. du Vendrogues the government of the islands, to enable him to make the estates of the minors turn to the best advantage.

The English then thought so little of contesting the property of Saint Lucia with the French, that in a treaty made in 1660, between the Governors of the French and English islands, M. Houel assumed the title of Governor of Saint Lucia, without its being disputed with him.

It is true, that in 1664 an Englishman, assuming the rank of Colonel, made a descent at Saint Lucia, and attacked the fort; which M. Mollard, who commanded there, was obliged to surrender by capitulation, and to withdraw with his troops.

The King caused complaints to be made to the Court of England of this infraction; but during the negotiation, and in the month of October 1665, M. Robert Saulk, who commanded for England at St. Lucia, and the inhabitants of that nation who were settled

settled there, sent Deputies to M. Clodoré, Chief and President of the Council Superior of Martinico, and to M. de Chambré, Agent General for the Company in France, to intreat them to take back the island of St. Lucia, which they acknowledged to be the property of the French, desiring him to supply them with boats to pass over into some of the English islands; declaring, that since they had seized upon the island of St. Lucia, they had always had a war to maintain against the Caribbees, natives of the country. An authentic act of the whole was executed at Martinico by the Deputies, in presence of a Notary.

The English having quitted St. Lucia, Messieurs de Clodoré and de Chambré took possession, and enjoyed it in peace. In all the commissions, and in all the instructions that have been sent to the Governors of Martinico, the island of St. Lucia has always been included.

In 1686, an English fifty-gun ship appeared on the coast of St. Lucia; the Captain declared to all the inhabitants, in the name of the King of England, that they were either to withdraw, or to receive commissions from his master, and that he was come to take possession of the island. He wrote accordingly to M. de Blenac, Governor of the French islands. Afterwards, having planted the standard of the King of England, he pillaged and burnt all he found belonging to the French. M. de Blenac, after having answered the Englishman's letter in a proper manner, sent some troops to support the French at Saint Lucia, which has remained ever since in the possession of France.

The King complained to the Court of England of this enterprize. Commissioners were appointed to settle the claims of the two nations to this island. The English, who thought by some useless proceedings to give themselves a title of property, encouraged the Governor of Barbadoes to write, on the 13th. of July 1700, to M. d'Amblemont, General of the French islands, that the King of England had ordered to send away all the persons who were settled on the island of
St.

St. Lucia, and that as there were several Frenchmen there, he begged of him to recall them.

M. d'Amblemont answered—that the King of England had no right to the island; and that if he undertook to drive the French away from it, he would repel force by force.

The Governor of Barbadoes did not think proper to undertake any thing, after such an answer; but Marshal Tallard received orders to make complaints to the Court of England, of the demand of the Governor of Barbadoes; and by the first answers he received, it seemed as if the Governor had acted without orders, and that justice would soon be done in the business.

Affairs between France and England being afterwards in dispute, nothing more was done in this matter; the French remained masters of St. Lucia, and have preserved their settlement there ever since.

The King, since his accession to the Crown, having given this island to Marshal d'Estrées, the English expostulated upon the basis of their claims on this island, which had formerly given rise to negotiations that were not yet closed. His Majesty was willing that the island should be put into the same state it was in before the gift, till such time as the claims of the two Crowns should be adjusted; but the establishments which the French had there before, remained as usual.

After such a condescension on the part of France for England, his Majesty was much surprised to find, by public reports, that the King of England had given this island to the Duke of Montague. The King thought that his Britannic Majesty had been imposed upon; and ordered complaints to be made to him; but as no direct answer was received, and that ships were getting ready at London, to take possession of that island, and form a settlement upon it, his Majesty sent orders to the Chevalier de Feuquieres, Governor General of the French islands, that if the English should undertake this settlement, he should call upon them to withdraw, and if they refused, he was to compel them by force.

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This General having received advice, on the 27th of December 1722, that the English had landed at St. Lucia, sent two Captains of infantry, to summon M. Wereugh, Commandant for the Duke of Montague, to withdraw from the island; he wrote at the same time himself to the Commandant, and sent him a copy of his Majesty's orders.

The Captains were well received: M. Wereugh assembled his Council, but having answered, that he could not evacuate the place, till he had received orders from England, the Chevalier de Feuquieres sent some troops there, under the command of the Marquis of Champigny, Governor of Martinico, and recommended it to him, in compliance with the orders of his Majesty, to avoid the effusion of blood as much as possible.

The Marquis of Champigny landed in the night from the 15th to the 16th of January 1723, and M. Wereugh having received advice of it, sent two officers, to desire that no violence should be committed; which was strictly attended to.

On the 18th of the same month a treaty was made, a copy of which, his Majesty sends with this, by virtue of which, the English were to evacuate the said island, after having raised the works they had constructed for their defence.

The King desires that matters should remain in this state, till it be decided to which of these two Crowns the island is to belong.

Trade of the English with the Islands.

Trade between the French and English in the American islands is entirely forbidden, that is to say, the French are not allowed to trade in the English colonies, and, in like manner, the English are not to trade in the French colonies. All that either of them are allowed to do, is reciprocally to land in these islands, when the ships are in danger of perishing, or that they
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are in want of provisions, wood, and water; but they are not to carry on any trade there.

The French observe these regulations very strictly; but the English use all their endeavours to introduce into the French colonies, negroes, provisions, and merchandise. English vessels are stopped every day, and most of them are confiscated. The English merchants are very ready to run this risque, and his Majesty has made no demand upon this subject of the Court of England, because he intends that all the vessels which are stopped shall still be confiscated. But the complaint his Majesty has to make, is, that English men of war come frequently to the French colonies, and anchor under different pretences in the ports and roads, where they fraudulently introduce negroes and merchandise. There are even some who bring laden boats along with them, and protect their trade. These English vessels would already have been attacked by those of the King, if his Majesty had not taken care to recommend to the Commanders, to treat the Captains of the King of England's ships with politeness; which attention hath hitherto restrained his Majesty's officers. But as it appears, that the English officers make an improper use of this politeness, he recommends it to Count Broglie to desire the Court of England to forbid the English Officers from going to the French colonies, to trade there. This is reasonable, and so much the more necessary, as his Majesty cannot avoid taking measures to prevent the continuance of this infraction.

Done at Versailles, the 11th of April 1724.

(Signed)

LEWIS.

And lower down,

PHELIPEAUX.

Memorial

Memorial concerning maritime Commerce, Navigation, and the Colonies; to serve for Instructions to Count Broglio, Lieutenant General of the King's forces, and Ambassador Extraordinary from his Majesty to the King of England.

HIS Majesty having chosen Count Broglio to reside in quality of Ambassador Extraordinary to the King of Great Britain, is so persuaded of the Count's zeal for his service, of which he has given so many proofs, that the King doubts not of his paying every possible attention to the affairs concerning maritime commerce, navigation, and the colonies, as also to what has been regulated upon these points, by the treaties of peace and commerce concluded at Utrecht, the 11th of April 1713.

Herring Fishery.

The herring fishery which is carried on, on the coast of Yarmouth, being able to increase considerably the commerce and navigation of the French, his Majesty wishes that the Count would prevail upon the English to grant him, upon this point, the same protection and the same advantages they give to the Dutch, and that the subjects of his Majesty may have a sufficient extent of this coast allowed them to carry on this fishery, without being obliged, as before, to keep themselves at distance from land, to windward of the English and Dutch; — that, when they are under a necessity of drawing in their vessels to shore, either from stress of weather, or to refit them, or to ship the fish, they shall not be obliged to pay the duties of import, which ought not to be required till the fish be exposed to sale; — and that the frigates which the King of England keeps upon this coast in the season of the fishery, shall not exact any thing from the French fishermen, under
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any pretence whatsoever. If Count Broglio can obtain all these demands, which appear equitable in themselves, and are very important for the service of his Majesty, he desires the Count would get the orders for this purpose in writing, and send them away immediately, addressed to the Secretary of State for the marine department.

Maritime Forces of England.

The Count will readily judge, that he cannot do the King a service more agreeable to him, than to inform him exactly of the maritime forces of England, and of the movements they shall make. His Majesty therefore expects, that the Count will apply himself particularly to get a thorough knowledge of the English navy in general, of the number and strength of their ships, of the ability of their sea-officers, of the advantages and disadvantages of their ports and roads — of which it were to be wished that accurate plans, with the soundings and anchoring-places, could be had; — and the Count will neglect no opportunity of being informed with regard to this, of every thing that may enable him to take measures the most expedient for his Majesty's service.

English Colonies.

It is also very material that he should contrive to be accurately informed of the state of the English colonies, and of the trade carried on there; — of the forces they maintain and of the number of inhabitants that are settled there; — whether all the forts and strong posts they have raised be well fortified, and whether their intention be not to construct others, and to undertake fresh enterprises during the peace.

Maritime

Maritime Commerce of England.

The King desires that the Count should inform himself, with equal care, of the manner in which the English carry on their different maritime commerce, and of what would appear the most expedient mode to prevent their increasing this commerce to the prejudice of that of the French. His Majesty thinks it unnecessary to mention how much secrecy and address are wanted to conduct this matter; for he is persuaded that the Count will proceed in it with all the circumspection that can be expected from his prudence and experience. His Majesty only recommends it to his Ambassador, to communicate as often as possible, and by safe conveyances, the information he may have gained.

Prohibition to the French Refugees to come into France.

His Majesty having issued an order, on the 18th of September 1713, to prohibit his subjects newly converted from going into foreign countries—and Refugees from coming into France without his permission—recommends it to his Ambassador, to attend as much as possible to the execution of this order, by taking such measures as he shall think proper, to prevent the French Protestants, settled in England, from returning into the kingdom; and he will take care to give an exact account to his Majesty of the infringements that have been committed upon this head.

Salute at Sea and Flag.

Though there have often been contests with the English respecting the salute at sea, yet there never
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has been any thing settled upon this point by any treaty. The English have been at all times extremely jealous of the dignity of their flag. The complaisance that has been shewn them under the reigns of Charles II. and James II. has given them occasion to push their claims so far as to require that French ships shall salute English ships of equal force in the Channel, pretending that they are sovereigns of that sea; and they at the same time refuse the salute to French ships of equal force out of the Channel: but France has never acknowledged the equality of their flag out of the Channel, and much less its pretended superiority in the Channel. Such a proposition is too injurious to the dignity of the Crown. The title upon which the English ground their pretensions in the Channel, is, that that sea belongs to them on account of the ports they have in it. But this imaginary possession of an element which God has created to be common to all mankind, defeats itself, and falls to the ground also, according to their own principles, when we consider that the coast of France in the Channel is much more extensive than that of England, and that the ports which his Majesty possesses there, are more numerous, and may easily become as considerable as those of England. Therefore, the reasons they allege, far from being favourable to them, would on the contrary turn to the advantage of France, if his Majesty were not convinced that the sea is open to all nations, and does not belong to any particular Crown. It must further be considered, that when the late King shewed some complaisance to England upon this point, on account of the peculiar friendship subsisting between his Majesty and the two Kings, Charles II. and James II. the navy of France had not yet acquired that degree of eminence to which it has since been raised, and which hath rendered it superior to that of other nations. If it has since suffered some diminution, and been a little weakened, it is still, however, respectable by its strength and its bravery. Besides, the rights of his Majesty, and the dignity of his Crown, still subsist in
their

their full force. Nevertheless, as the King's intention is still to maintain a good understanding between the two nations; that he has nothing more at heart than to prevent every step that might contribute in the least to interrupt it; and that the question about the salute might occasion differences, and even sea-engagements, between the ships of the two nations; his Majesty, in order to give new proofs of the esteem he has for the English nation, is willing that Count Broglie should consent, that the ships of either state and of equal force, shall not salute each other in the Channel, when they meet there, and that ships of superior rates shall be saluted by those that are inferior.

With respect to the other seas, the English are not to pretend to dispute the salute due to his Majesty's flag. The rank which his Ambassadors hold, and the precedency they enjoy in all the Courts, is a certain proof of this; and it would be an extraordinary thing, while the Ambassador of England is obliged to give way to that of France, the English ships should dispute the salute with French vessels of equal rate. If the King of Great Britain should therefore propose this question to Count Broglie, his Majesty desires that the Count would not give way upon a point which is so legitimately due to the Crown of France.

But, in order to shew still further the respect which his Majesty entertains for the English, he thinks it proper that the Count should agree that the salute shall be returned by the French ships in the most respectful manner; that is to say, gun for gun between ships of the same rank, and men of war.

The Count shall likewise agree, that the French ships shall first salute the English ships, bearing an mark of superior command, and with such number of guns as shall be fired on both sides, as the English shall think proper to fix; his Majesty being willing that his ships should be treated, in this respect, as those of the English will be which have saluted a French flag of superior rank. So that from an inferior to a superior flag, there shall be a difference of two or four guns;
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and it is of little consequence to his Majesty in what manner the number be fixed, provided that the proper superiority be always kept up.

If England proposes also to regulate the salute that is to be given to forts, his Majesty consents that the regulations shall be upon the same footing on both sides; that is to say, that the French and English shall first salute the forts of the other nation with a certain number of guns, and that the salute shall be returned to the ships of Vice Admirals with an equal number, and with two guns less for the Rear Admirals and Commodores, and four less for a mere man of war.

Count Broglie will observe, that the English have a much greater number of flags of dignity than other nations, so that the orders which his Majesty gives in this respect, are only to be understood of that flag of the English nation which is red with white quarters, and charged with a red cross; for the blue and white flags, which they chiefly use in line of battle, are properly only flags for signals. But if England should be desirous of reckoning these flags, of dignity, his Ambassador shall agree that the blue flag, or that which is half white and half blue, which the French sometimes use, shall be treated in the same manner by the English.

French Colonies in America.

Several contests have arisen between France and England, touching the French colonies in America; and the English have committed many infractions of the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht between the two Crowns. They are detailed in the King's memorial, which Count Broglie will find inclosed. The intentions of his Majesty are there explained: it is mentioned, that representations are to be made, and orders to be asked for from his Britannic Majesty, to re-establish all things, and put them upon a proper footing.

Ransons.

Ransom of the Island of Nevis.

The persons concerned in the equipment of a squadron of eleven ships, commanded by the late M. d'Iberville, have not yet been able to obtain the payment of 140,000 piastres*, and interest, which are due to them since the year 1706, for the ransom of the island of Nevis, as it appears by the inclosed memorial of these proprietors. The King desires, that Count Broglio would employ his good offices, in the name of his Majesty, towards the King of England, in their favour, in order that this affair may be settled without delay.

Fishery on the great Bank.

Most of the masters of vessels returned last year from the great Bank, have declared to the Admiralty, that the English men of war have forbidden them to keep upon this Bank, under a pretence that the northern slip has been ceded to their nation, and that the French are now only allowed to fish on the southern slip. They have obliged them to quit the fishery, threatening to sink them; and they have fired canon, or muskets charged with balls, at them, chasing them till they were driven off to a distance. His Majesty has caused complaints to be made directly to the King of England, upon the novelty of this attempt, and the extraordinary means exercised by the Captains of ships to support it. His Minis-
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* About twenty-five thousand pounds.

ters have in fact acknowledged the injustice of this proceeding, which is absolutely repugnant to the arrangements of the treaty of Utrecht. Although the King is persuaded that the Captains of men of war, who have been to the Bank this year, have received orders to leave the French entirely at liberty, as it hath been practised in all times—the sea and this trade being open to all nations—yet his majesty wishes that the aforesaid orders should be made public, and that Count Broglió should solicit this of the King of Great Britain, that the officers of the British navy being informed of them, may fulfil them exactly, and may not, upon any pretence whatever, molest the French ships in their fishery upon the Bank.

Unforeseen Affairs.

As in the course of the Count's embassy, several incidents may happen, which it is difficult to provide against in these instructions, his Majesty expects from his Ambassador's prudence, that upon these occasions he will act in a manner that shall be most agreeable to his Majesty, and most beneficial to his subjects; and that he will take care to inform his Majesty every post what passes, as much with respect to the present memorial, as to any unforeseen matters concerning maritime commerce, navigation, and the colonies, in order that, according to the accounts received, his Majesty may make known his intentions to him through the channel of the Secretary of State for the marine department; and when there shall be any matter requiring secrecy, he is to make use of the inclosed cypher.

His majesty relies in every thing upon his prudent forecast, being persuaded that his zeal for his

his service will be ever the same, and that in the most difficult affairs he will conduct himself with all possible firmness, sagacity of understanding, and ability.

Done at Versailles the
18th of May 1724.

END OF THE APPENDIX TO VOL. L

APPENDIX.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A P P E N D I X

TO VOL. II.

Vol. I.

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A P P E N D I X

TO THE HISTORY

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A P P E N D I X

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME.

Nº. I.

Letter from the Marquis d'Argenson, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to M. de Voltaire, Historiographer to the King.

MONSIEUR L'HISTORIEN,

YOU must have been informed, by Wednesday in the evening, of the news upon which you congratulate us so much. A Page was dispatched from the field of battle, on Tuesday at half an hour after two, to carry the letters. I understand that he arrived at Versailles at five o'clock in the afternoon on Wednesday. It was a glorious sight to see the King and Dauphin, writing upon a drum, surrounded by the conquerors, the conquered, the dead, the dying, and the prisoners. I shall give you an account of some particulars which I remarked.

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I had the honour of meeting the King on Sunday, very near the field of battle ; I was just arrived from Paris, at the quarters at Chin ; and was told that the King was gone out. I called for a horse ; and joined his Majesty near a place from whence one could see the enemy's camp. The King was the first person who informed me of the state of things, as they were then supposed to be. I never saw any man so chearful upon this occasion as our master was. We canvassed precisely that point of history, which you discuss in four lines—who was the last of our Kings that had gained a battle in person. I assure you, that the courage displayed did no injury to the judgment, nor the judgment to the memory. From thence we went to lie down upon straw ; and never was a ball-night more jovial, nor were there ever so many good things said. We slept all the time that we were not interrupted by Couriers, light troops, and Aids-de-Camps. The King sang a song consisting of many verses, and which is very droll. As for the Dauphin, he shewed no more concern about the battle, than if he had been a hare-hunting and almost said : “ Is this all ? ” A canon-ball fell in the dirt, and splashed a man who stood near the King. Our masters laughed heartily at his dirty figure. One of my brother's grooms, who was in the rear of our company, was wounded in the head by a musket-ball.

It is absolutely true and certain, without the least tincture of flattery, that the King himself gained this battle by his own resolution and firmness. You will see the accounts and particulars. You will find, that there was one dreadful hour, in which we expected nothing less than a renewal of the affair at Dettingen ; our Frenchmen, awed by the steadiness of the English, and by their rolling fire, which is really infernal, and, I confess to you, is enough to stupify the most unconcerned spectators. Then it was that we began to despair of our cause. Some of our Generals, who have less courage and ardour, than understanding, gave very prudent counsels.

fels. Orders were sent as far as Lille; the King's guard was doubled; we were packing up, &c. Upon this, the King made a jest of every thing, and, going from the left to the center, asked for the corps de reserve, and the brave Lowendhal; but there was no need of it: — a false corps de reserve charged: it was the same cavalry that had charged before in vain, the King's household, Carabineers, the remains of the French guards, and the Irish, which are excellent troops, especially when they march against the English, and the Hanoverians. Your friend, M. de Richelieu, is quite a Bayard. It was he who gave the advice, and who put it in execution, of attacking the infantry like chasseurs, or foragers, with the hand lowered, and the arm shortened, pell-mell, masters, footmen, officers, cavalry, and infantry, all together. Nothing can resist this French vivacity, which is so much talked of. In ten minutes the battle was won by this secret attack. The large battalions of the English turned their backs, and, to make short of the matter, 14,000 men were killed*.

The credit of this horrid butchery belongs indeed to the cannon. Never were there so many nor so large cannon fired in any general action, as at this battle of Fontenoy. There were a hundred pieces. It should seem, Sir, as if these poor enemies had taken a pleasure in allowing every thing that was most prejudicial to them to arrive; such as the cannon from Douay, the Gendarmerie, and the *Mousquetaires*.

You must remember one anecdote which happened at the last charge I have just been mentioning. The Dauphin, by a very natural impulse, drew his sword with the best grace in the world, and was going to join in the charge; but he was desired not to do it. That I may not, however, omit telling you the bad with the good, I have observed, that a ha-

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* There were indeed 14,000 men missing at the roll-calling: but about 6,000 returned the same day.

bit is too soon acquired of viewing with tranquillity, upon the field of battle, the naked dead bodies, the enemies at the last gasp, and the wounds still reeking. As for my part, I own, that my heart failed me, and I was obliged to have recourse to a smelling-bottle. I took particular notice of our young heroes, and found them too indifferent upon this subject. I was apprehensive, lest, in the course of a long life, the taste for this inhuman carnage might increase.

The triumph is the finest sight in the world: the acclamations of *Vive le Roy*—the hats waved in the air, at the end of the bayonets—the compliments which are paid by the master to his warriors—the visiting of the intrenchments, the villages, and the redoubts that are still so entire—the joy, the triumph, the sensibility that univerfully prevails;—but still, the melancholy basis of all this is human blood, and human flesh.

Towards the end of the rejoicing, the King honoured me with a conversation about a peace; and I have dispatched Couriers. The King was very much entertained yesterday at the trenches. He was fired at very often, but remained there three hours. I was at work in my closet, which is my intrenchment; for I acknowledge, that these dissipations have made me much in arrear with my affairs.

I trembled every time I heard the firing. The day before yesterday I went to view the trenches by myself. It is no very curious sight in the day-time. To-day we are to have a *Te Deum* under a tent, with a general volley from the army, which the King is to go upon Mount Trinity to see. It will be a grand sight!

N^o. II.

*Letter from the Dauphin to the Dauphiness, upon the
Battle of Fontenoi.*

ON Sunday, at one o'clock in the afternoon, the King was informed that the enemy were not distant from us more than a league. He immediately ordered the army to cross the Scheld. He joined it after dinner, towards five o'clock in the evening, and found an incredible degree of ardour among the troops. He advanced in the front of the camp, to a place from whence he could discern part of the enemy. Some firing passed towards the evening between their hussars and our light-troops, who have for these few days done wonders.

About nine o'clock, the King repassed the Scheld, upon a bridge that had been thrown across, at half a league's distance from Tournai, towards the citadel, and came to sleep at a miserable house in a village called Calonne, where every body laid upon straw, except he and I.

The next day, Monday, the King got up at half an hour after three, and dined at eight. He did not get on horseback to examine the situation of the enemy till noon. He saw that their camp was become more apparent. There was some little firing between our advanced posts, but this did not cause any movement in either of the armies. As the King was returning, about three o'clock in the afternoon, he met some foragers, who had flung away their trusses, and were returning full speed to the camp, saying, that the enemy were in motion. The King turned back, and saw in reality that the enemy's left wing was marching towards the village of Antoin. It could not yet be imagined that they meant to attack us, because, it was said, they

smelt too long at the physic, to have any inclination to swallow it. Accordingly, on that night nothing was done, dispositions were only made for the next day.

The King rose before four o'clock in the morning; he mounted his horse, crossed the Scheld, stopped a little on this side of a chapel, called *Notre Dame des bois*. He afterwards advanced upon a small rising ground, from whence he had a distinct view of the enemy's camp, as well as of ours. Between nine and ten o'clock, he called for his breakfast. As it was going to be brought to him, the enemy began the attack of the post of Fontenoy, from whence M. de la Vauguyon, at the head of the Dauphin's brigade, repulsed them vigorously, so that they did not venture to repeat their attack. The King was obliged to quit the rising ground, because the enemy's cannon bore full upon it. He could never prevail upon the fugitives to return to the charge; great part of them were footmen, who spread the alarm among the rest. During the retreat, which afflicted him exceedingly, his countenance did not change, and he gave his orders with a coolness which every body admired. When the enemy had forsaken the field of battle, the King appeared upon it, and was received with incredible acclamations of joy. He gave orders that the wounded should be taken care of, as well foes as friends. This affair has been called the *Battle of Fontenoi*. In the evening, towards nine or ten o'clock, the King was informed that the enemy retreated in disorder; that there was a great misunderstanding between the English and the Dutch; and that at the roll-calling, there were 15,000 men missing, while we have lost but 2,000; so that you see the King has gained a complete victory. The poor Duke de Grammont was killed by a cannon-ball, which broke his thigh. Adieu, my dear wife, I love you more than myself.

N^o. III.

Manifesto of the King of France, in favour of Prince Charles Edward.

HIS most Serene Highness, Prince Charles Edward, having landed in Great Britain, with no other assistance than his courage, and all his actions having gained him the admiration of Europe, and the hearts of all true Englishmen, the King of France has been induced to think as they do. He has thought it his duty at once to succour a Prince so worthy of the throne of his ancestors, and a generous nation, the wisest men of which, recall, at length, the Prince Charles Stuart into his country. He sends the Duke de Richelieu at the head of his troops, only because the best-intentioned men among the English asked for that support; and he precisely confines himself to the number of troops demanded, ready to withdraw them as soon as the nation shall require their removal. His Majesty, in giving so reasonable an assistance to his relation, to the son of so many Kings, to a Prince who so much deserves the Crown, takes this step, with regard to the English nation, only in the view and in the assurance of pacifying by that means England, and Europe, fully convinced that his most Serene Highness Prince Edward puts his confidence in their good-will; that he looks upon their liberties, the maintaining of their laws, and their happiness, as the end of all his enterprises; and finally, that the greatest Kings of England are

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those,

those, who, being brought up like him in adversity, have deserved the love of the nation.

It is from these motives that the King assists the Prince, who has put himself under his protection, the son of him who was born legitimate heir to the three kingdoms; the warrior, who, notwithstanding his valour, expects only from them and their laws the confirmation of his most sacred rights; who can never have any other interest than theirs; and, in a word, whose virtues have softened the hearts of those who were the most prejudiced against his cause.

• He hopes that such an opportunity will re-unite two nations, which must reciprocally esteem each other; which are naturally connected by the mutual wants of their commerce; and which should be joined at present in the cause of a Prince who deserves the good wishes of all nations.

The Duke de Richelieu, who commands the troops of his Majesty, the King of France, addresses this declaration to all the faithful subjects of Great Britain, and assures them of the constant protection of the King his master. He is come to join the heir of their antient Kings, and to spill, as well as him, his blood in their service.

N^o. V.

*Representations of the Bishops to the King, of the 11th
of June 1752.*

SIRE,

THE silence we have hitherto observed upon the evils that afflict us, and those with which we are threatened, was founded upon a principle of moderation and charity. Content with raising our hands up to Heaven, and imploring in secret, by our vows and supplications, the mercy of the Lord, we were in hopes that the prejudices, which have seduced the greatest part of the Magistrates of your Parliament of Paris, would subside; that they would at length open their eyes to the light; and that they would, of their own accord, pay an homage to truth, which in fact their hearts have never refused. But, Sire, the wound which this tribunal has given to religion, becomes every day so deep, that we should think we betrayed the holy ministry, which has been intrusted to us, if we deferred any longer to lay our complaints at the foot of your Majesty's throne, and to make you acquainted with our grief and our alarms.

In fact, Sire, can we, without being stricken with the greatest astonishment, behold the Parliament of Paris giving out an order to prevent any public refusal of the sacraments, under pretence (say they) that the Bull *Unigenitus* has not been accepted? Shall a secular tribunal then decide, that the submission to a constitution, which is a dogmatic and unalterable sentence of the universal church, a law of the church in point of doctrine, and a law of the state, is a matter of no consequence to salvation? They pretend then that the sacraments should be administered to a person who refuses to submit

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to such a law, without even excepting the case wherein such a refusal should be obstinate, public, notorious, and scandalous! If they determine, that in such a case we are not at liberty to refuse the sacraments, they may with equal propriety determine, that they cannot be refused in any other case they may chuse to mention. If the authority resides with them, of settling the cases in which we may not refuse the sacraments, why should they not also have the right of settling the instances in which we may administer them? A lay tribunal has then the right to state the sufficiency or insufficiency of the dispositions in which a person is with regard to the reception of the sacraments, and consequently to decide upon what renders the faithful worthy or unworthy of receiving them.

What reproaches should we not have to make to ourselves, Sire, if, depositaries as we are of religion, we should suffer in silence the secular Judges to arrogate to themselves the sacred rights of the Priesthood, in dispensing the holy mysteries, and boldly to usurp from spiritual authority a power, which its Ministers alone have received from Jesus Christ; a power, the exercise of which is not less forbidden to Christian Magistrates, by divine and ecclesiastical laws, than it is prohibited to them as subjects, by the clearest and most express ordonnances of our Kings.

Permit us, Sire, to mention some of those laws and ordonnances to your Majesty, which ought to be rules of your Parliament's conduct, and upon which our hopes are founded.

Jesus Christ spoke to his Apostles, both with regard to themselves and to their successors, when he said: *Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, &c.* And instructing them to observe all the things which he had taught and commanded them, it is to them that he says: *He who heareth you, heareth me. and he who despiseth you, despiseth me.* It is to them that he has addressed these words: *Whatsoever thou shalt bind*

bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt lose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven. It is of us that the Apostle Saint Paul has spoken, when he has said: *The Holy Ghost hath made you overseers to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.*

It therefore belongs to us, Sire, to teach and prescribe what concerns religion, and, as St. Hilary has said, to preach the faith, which we have received from the Apostles, in the terms which we judge most proper.

"Where is," exclaims St. Athanasius, "*Where is the canon which prescribes to a Bishop to receive his mission from the secular tribunal?*"

"If it be from the Laity," said St. Ambrose to the Emperor Valentinian, "that the Bishops are to receive their instructions, what would happen? Let the Layman then give instructions, and let the Bishop attend and learn. But if we look into the Divine Scriptures and tradition, who will venture to deny, that in a business which concerns faith, it belongs to the Bishops to judge the Emperors, and not to the Emperors to judge the Bishops?"

"O ye sheep,"—these are the words of St. Gregory of Nazianzen—"do not pretend to conduct your pastors, nor to raise yourselves above them. It is sufficient for you to be put by their care into a good pasture-ground; do not undertake to judge your judges, or to give laws to your legislators."

Such, Sire, is the doctrine, which, from age to age, has been transmitted to us by the Holy Fathers, those respectable men, whose sacred testimonies form the series of tradition. Pope Gelazius, writing to the Emperor Anastasius, expresses himself thus: "There are two means, by which this world is governed, the sacred authority of the Bishops, and the Regal power."

The episcopal charge is of so much the higher importance, as it is by them that an account of the conduct of Kings themselves is to be rendered at the divine tribunal; for you know, that although your
dignity

dignity raises you above all the general race of mankind, you bow your neck before the Prelates; you receive the Sacraments from their hands, and you are subjected to them in what respects religion: you follow their decisions, and they are not bound by your will. But if the Bishops obey your edicts as far as regards political concerns, and temporal interests, knowing that you have received power from above, with what affectionate readiness ought you to submit yourself to them, who are commissioned to dispense the Sacraments?

"With regard to this life," says St. Fulgentius, in a passage which the Emperor Charlemain himself has adopted "no one in the Church of Jesus Christ is above the Pontiffs, as in secular matters no one is above the Christian Emperor."

Osus, Bishop of Cordova, in a letter which he wrote to the Emperor Constantine, after having engaged him not to favour the Arians any more against the Catholics, continues in these terms: "I desire you would act in this manner, and remember that you are a mortal man. Dread the day of judgment; do not interfere with ecclesiastical affairs, and do not pretend to give us directions in these matters; receive them rather from us. God has given you the Empire, and has intrusted the Church to us. As any person who incroaches upon your power acts contrary to the orders of God; so likewise do you fear to draw the imputation of a great crime upon yourself, by interfering in our concerns. For it is written, Give unto Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar, and to God what belongs to God. We are not, therefore, allowed to have dominion upon the earth, nor have you a right to lay your hand upon the censer."

These are truths, Sire, which the Emperors themselves, and the Kings your predecessors, have several times acknowledged by authentic acts. They have chosen that all their subjects should bend to the spiritual authority, which the Ministers of the Church derive from God alone; that this authority should be
freely

freely exercised throughout their dominions; and they have forbidden their tribunals ever to make the least incroachments upon them.

The Emperor Basil, in his harangue at the eighth General Council, holden at Constantinople, expressed himself thus: "The Holy Canons have never given to the laity the right of cognizance in ecclesiastical affairs, this is reserved for Bishops and Priests. As for you, laymen, adds he, whether you be in office or not, what shall I say more to you, than that it does not belong to you to concern yourselves with ecclesiastical affairs; and that you can by no means resist the authority of the Universal Church and of a General Council. In fact, it does not belong to us laymen, to trouble ourselves about those matters; us, who are to receive the spiritual nourishment we are in want of from the hands of the Pontiffs; us, to whom the Clergy is necessary for our salvation; us, who are bound or unbound by their authority; it is not to us, but to the Pontiffs and Priests, that the Lord has imposed the obligation of governing us, of sanctifying us, of binding and unbinding us, and whom he has intrusted with the keys. For whatever religion, whatever wisdom, whatever piety a layman may possess, still as a layman he is one of the flock. What reasons can we have to endeavour, by the subtlety of our discourses, to envenom and criticise the decisions of our pastors, and to attempt to penetrate into things which are above us? We are to address ourselves to them with fear, and with a spirit of faith; we ought to be penetrated with respect in their presence, as being Ministers of the Almighty God, whom they represent. Let us not therefore concern ourselves with what is not our competency."

The Emperor Charlemain expresses the sentiments of his heart in this manner upon the subject: "We cannot believe," says he in one of his ordonnances, "that those who are not faithful to their God, and submit to their pastors, can be faithful to ourselves."

“ selves. We cannot comprehend that they can be
 “ obedient to us, our ministers, or our representatives,
 “ when they are disobedient in the matters which
 “ concern religion, and the good of the Church. It
 “ is to the Pastors that it is said: Whosoever hears
 “ you, hears me, and whosoever despises you, de-
 “ spises me. And in another place: He that touch-
 “ es you, touches the apple of my eye. Let those
 “ then who are not obedient to them, know, even
 “ if they were my own children, that they should
 “ not preserve either dignity in our empire or apart-
 “ ments in our palace; that they should not have,
 “ either with ourselves or any others, society or com-
 “ munication; but that, on the contrary, they should
 “ be severely punished. This is the mark of fidelity
 “ and attachment to us, which we require from our
 “ faithful subjects. If they are faithful in their obe-
 “ dience to their Pastors, they will then be faithful
 “ to God, and to us.”

We should take up, Sir, your attention for too long a time, if we were to lay before your Majesty all the laws which have been made by the Kings your predecessors, to maintain the authority of the Ministers of the Church; and your Parliament can quote none that can serve to favour their enterprise. We will confine ourselves to the mention of some of them that have been made within these two centuries.

Francis I. in 1539, forbidding the Ecclesiastical Judges to cite to their tribunals laymen, in matters that are merely personal, adds, without prejudice, however, to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with regard to the Sacraments, and other matters, merely spiritual and ecclesiastical.

Lewis XIII. again, distinctly acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Church, when, in Article IV. of his edict of the 1st of August 1610, he expresses himself in this manner: “ It is our pleasure,
 “ that when our officers, under pretence of possessi-
 “ on, complaints, or novelties, shall be disposed,
 “ directly or indirectly, to take cognizance of any
 “ spiritual

“ spiritual matter, concerning the Sacraments, offi-
 “ ces, conduct and discipline of the Church, or be-
 “ tween the Ecclesiastics, that the ordonnances of
 “ the Kings our prodecessors, who have allotted to
 “ our officers what is under their cognizance, and have
 “ also regulated the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, should
 “ be observed and maintained, so that every one
 “ should keep to his own duty, and confine himself to
 “ what belongs to him, without inroaching one upon
 “ another; which we exprefsly forbid. We also in-
 “ join to our Court of Parliament, to leave to the Ec-
 “ clestical Jurisdiction the matters that are of their
 “ cognizance, even those that concern the Sacraments,
 “ and other spiritual and merely ecclesiastical causes,
 “ without attracting them to themselves, under pre-
 “ tence of possession, or from any other motive what-
 “ ever.”

So positive a law ought for ever to have secured the
 authority of the Ministers of Jesus Christ, with regard
 to the administration of the Sacraments, from any in-
 croachments of the Magistrates. Notwithstanding
 which, it afterwards became necessary to make fresh
 precautions upon this matter; and this was according-
 le done by Lewis XIV. in the Articles XXX. and XXXIV,
 of his edict of the month of April 1695. The first is
 as follows.

“ The knowledge and judging of the doctrine con-
 “ cerning religion, shall belong to the Bishops and
 “ Archbishops. We injoin to our Court of Parliament,
 “ and to all our other Judges, to refer them to the
 “ above-mentioned Prelates; to give them the assist-
 “ ance they may be in want of, to execute their cen-
 “ sures, and to proceed to the punishment of crimi-
 “ nals; without preventing, however, our said Courts
 “ from endeavouring, by other means which they may
 “ judge expedient, to repair the scandal, and pertur-
 “ bation of order and of public tranquility, and without
 “ opposition to the ordonnances which the publication
 “ of the said doctrine may have occasioned.”

It appears, Sire, by the tenour of this article, that
 one of the cases in which the Royal jurisdiction may in-
 terfere,

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“ spiritual matter, concerning the Sacraments, offices, conduct and discipline of the Church, or between the Ecclesiastics, that the ordonnances of the Kings our prodecessors, who have allotted to our officers what is under their cognizance, and have also regulated the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, should be observed and maintained, so that every one should keep to his own duty, and confine himself to what belongs to him, without inroaching one upon another; which we expressly forbid. We also injoin to our Court of Parliament, to leave to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction the matters that are of their cognizance, even those that concern the Sacraments, and other spiritual and merely ecclesiastical causes, without attracting them to themselves, under pretence of possession, or from any other motive whatever.”

So positive a law ought for ever to have secured the authority of the Ministers of Jesus Christ, with regard to the administration of the Sacraments, from any inroachments of the Magistrates. Notwithstanding which, it afterwards became necessary to make fresh precautions upon this matter; and this was accordingly done by Lewis XIV. in the Articles XXX. and XXXIV. of his edict of the month of April 1695. The first is as follows:

“ The knowledge and judging of the doctrine concerning religion, shall belong to the Bishops and Archbishops. We injoin to our Court of Parliament, and to all our other Judges, to refer them to the above-mentioned Prelates; to give them the assistance they may be in want of, to execute their censures, and to proceed to the punishment of criminals; without preventing, however, our said Courts from endeavouring, by other means which they may judge expedient, to repair the scandal, and perturbation of order and of public tranquillity, and without opposition to the ordonnances which the publication of the said doctrine may have occasioned.”

It appears, Sire, by the tenour of this article, that one of the cases in which the Royal jurisdiction may interfere,

terfere, to restrain those whom our censures are not of force enough to keep within bounds, is, when the person who openly teaches a doctrine contrary to the doctrine of the Church, gives rise to a popular commotion, excites sedition, and disturbs public order and tranquillity: but it likewise appears, that when judgment is to be given upon any doctrine respecting religion——such for instance as the constitution *Unigenitus*——the Parliaments are forbidden to take any sort of cognizance of it; and that in such case it is their duty to assist us, as far as there may be occasion, in the execution of our censures: a real and an important duty, Sire, but a duty to which the Parliament of Paris chooses to be blind; for, instead of giving us that assistance which we stand in need of, they, on the contrary, employ all that authority with which your Majesty has intrusted in them, to protect those against us, who have incurred our censures; as if paying that obedience to us which is our due, was to be reckoned among those scandals and troubles, the punishment of which belongs to them. This Sire, is a conduct which renders the complaints and representations we take the liberty of laying before your Majesty, still more worthy of your attention, as it is still more pointedly condemned by the XXXIVth article of the same edict, which runs as follows:

“ The cognizance of what relates to the Sacraments, religious vows, ecclesiastical functions and discipline, and other matters purely spiritual, shall belong to the jurisdiction of the Church. We injoin our officers, and likewise our Courts of Parliament, to leave to them, as also to refer to them the cognizance of all these matters, without assuming any jurisdiction or cognizance of them, unless in case of appeal for abuse, lodged in our said Courts, against any ordinary judgments or proceedings had by the Ecclesiastical Judges, or in cases of succession, or other civil matters, wherein the estate of a person deceased, or that of their children, may be concerned.”

Your Majesty, Sire, treading in the steps of your august predecessors, has not less frequently, nor less explicitly than they, acknowledged the autho-
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riety of the Bishops (exclusive of that of all other Judges) in what concerns points of doctrine, and the administration of the Sacraments.

“ More submissive to the decisions of the Church, than the meanest of our subjects,” (such are your Majesty’s words, in your declaration of the 7th of October 1717, registered by the Parliament) “ we are convinced, that it is from thence both Kings and their subjects ought equally to receive those truths which are necessary to salvation; and we have no idea of extending our power to what concerns points of doctrine, which are a sacred deposit, intrusted to another power. We know it is to that power alone that the cognizance of them is reserved, and we could not interfere in them, without exposing ourselves to the just reproach of not having supported the truth, but by a manifest incroachment on the spiritual authority, and of having done much evil, under a specious pretence of doing greater good.”

The same dispositions as are contained in this declaration, were renewed in those of the 5th of June 1719, and of the 4th of August 1720.

Your Majesty, in your declaration of 1730, has confirmed the Articles XXX. and XXXIV. of the edict of 1695, and by that has given them additional force. The decrees of the Council of State, for these twenty years past, have been continually recalling these articles to mind, and have been exerted in defending the Church against the incroachments which the Magistrates wanted to make on their spiritual authority. In a decree of the 7th of September, 1727, your Majesty expressly declares, that in matters which concern faith, and the doctrines of the Church, the opinion of the Bishops is to precede the exertion of the secular power, and to serve as the foundation for the laws and decrees which that power enacts, to confirm the authority of the Church by temporal punishments.

In 1731, the jurisdiction of the Church having been violently attacked, your Majesty expressed yourself in a manner very capable of encouraging the
Ministers

Ministers of Jesus Christ, by issuing, on the 10th of March, in your Council, a decree which signifies, "that your Majesty, ever attentive to fulfil every thing that religion requires from your power, without being wanting in any thing you owe to yourself, considers it as your first duty to prevent, that, on occasion of these disputes, the rights of a power should be called in question, which has received from God alone the authority of deciding questions of doctrine upon the law, and upon the regulation of manners—to make canons, or rules of discipline, for the conduct of the Ministers of the Church, and of the faithful, in the order of religion—to appoint or set aside their Ministers, in conformity to the same rules—and to insure obedience, by imposing upon the faithful, according to canonical orders, not only salutary penances, but real spiritual punishments, by the sentences or censures which the Superior Clergy have a right to pronounce and to publish, and which are so much the more formidable, as they produce their effect upon the soul of the guilty person; whose opposition does not prevent him from bearing, contrary to his will, the punishment to which he is condemned."

By a decree of the 6th of July of the same year, your Majesty broke and annulled a decree of the Parliament of Paris, because it gave an injunction to the Bishop of Orleans, in a spiritual matter, and concerning the Sacraments.

Since this decree, Sire, when the Magistrates have not conformed, upon this point, to their duty, and to your orders, you have always come to the assistance of the Church. How many striking instances do we not recollect, of this zeal in your Majesty for the interests of the sanctuary, and which awaken in our hearts the sentiments of a just gratitude?

The decree of your Council of 1739, broke and annulled an ordonnance of the Lieutenant of the bailiwick of Villeneuve-le-Roi, concerning the administration of the Sacraments, as being null, and incompetently

tently given—as an incroachment upon the rights of spiritual authority—and as a rash enterprise, which you could not suppress with too much severity, in order that, as it had not any precedent before, so it might not have any consequence hereafter.

A decree of your Parliament, given on the 1st of September 1740, afforded your Majesty an opportunity of expressing yourself yet more clearly and positively upon this interference, so rashly and so frequently renewed. The Parliament, by that decree, had prohibited all acts or writings authorising a refusal of the Sacraments, and of ecclesiastical burial, on the foundation of an appeal from the constitution *Unigenitus*, under such penalties as might be inflicted.

Your Majesty, by a decree of the 6th of the same month, ordered that the said provision should be regarded as null, and having had no existence; annulling, at the same time, all judgments that might be executed or passed in consequence thereof. The motives which excited your Majesty's indignation against the Parliamentary decree, and which are recited in the preamble to the decree of the Council, are, "that it is
" not lawful for Magistrates to exceed the limits of
" their power, by attempting to exercise it in matters
" merely spiritual, such as the rules that are to be ob-
" served with respect to the administration of the Sacra-
" ments, and to the judgment to be formed upon the
" dispositions necessary to receive them." Nevertheless, your Majesty hath had the mortification to see this in a decree, whereby they manifestly decide, that the refusal of the Sacraments is unjust in the case therein set forth, because they expressly prohibit any writing, and even any act in justification of such a refusal; as if a secular tribunal could have a right to impose laws on the Ministers of the Church, in what regards the dispensation of sacred matters; that is to say, in what is most essentially united to the power which they derive from God himself; besides that the terms made use of in this decree of the Parliament, where they speak of an appeal to the next Council on
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the subject of the constitution *Unigenitus*, seemed to suppose, and even to insinuate, that an appeal, which the King had previously declared to be null, as far back as the year 1720, and which he had absolutely forbidden to be made in future, can yet be valid for the indemnification of those who on that ground might persist in their opposition to a sentence solemnly acceded to by the Bishops of this kingdom, received by the Church in general, supported by letters patent, registered in all the Parliaments, and so often confirmed by the authority of the Royal assent.

Laws so explicit, orders so conformable to the dictates of religion and justice, were not of force to restrain the secular tribunals. The judge Delegate of the Supreme Court of Angers, obliged your Majesty to explain yourself afresh, two years after, on the same subject; and, by a decree of your Council, dated 5th of January 1742, you repeated and made void a sentence pronounced by that Judge, as Commissioner in that part of the Parliament of Paris, respecting the administration of the Sacraments; the sentence being declared to have been given without authority, and to be an incroachment on the Episcopal jurisdiction.

The decree passed in the Council of State, on the 17th of October in the same year, occasioned by a decree of the Parliament of Paris, ordering, that a pamphlet, intitled *Cas de Conscience*, should be burnt by the public Executioner, furnishes another exemplary proof of your Majesty's religious zeal.

Speaking of the Parliament of Paris, it is there said, "that the Secular Judges ought at least to have abstained from giving to the work they condemned a qualification, by which they seemed to have taken upon themselves the solution of this case of conscience, and to have made themselves judges of the dispositions requisite for a worthy participation of the Sacraments, and of the submission which is due to the judgments of the Church in points merely of a religious nature."

Your

Your Majesty goes on to say, "that, as you have already declared on similar occasions, that you were far from considering matters purely spiritual as being submitted to your authority, so you would not suffer those to whom you intrusted a part of that authority, for the purpose of administering justice, to exceed those bounds which you had prescribed to yourself."

Your Majesty therefore ordained, that the condemnation contained in the decree of the Parliament should be null, and of no effect, as if it had never been made.

In like manner, the decree of your Council, dated 22d of January 1742, suppressed an encroachment of the Supreme Court of Rheims, repealed and annulled two of their sentences given in relation to the Sacraments, and forbade them to interfere in future.

But that of the 21st of February 1747, which equally proceeded from your authority, and was given on the occasion of the decree of the Parliament of Paris, dated the 17th of the same month, affords too striking a proof of the special protection which you afford to the Church, not to be placed at length before your Majesty's eyes: the tenor of it is as follows: "His Majesty would have observed, that the art with which this decree had been drawn, serves only to point out, that the real object of those who were the authors of it, was, to weaken and render ineffectual all that the King had done, since his happy accession to the Crown, to support by his authority that of the Bull *Unigenitus*, so fully confirmed by the sanction of the heads of the Church, that all those who are acquainted with the two decrees of the Grand Chamber, dated 7th of January, and 1st instant, as well as with what preceded the decree in question, cannot doubt that their principal intention was to prevent the constitution *Unigenitus* from being regarded as a decision of the universal church, in point of doctrine, although these are terms consecrated by his Majesty's use of them, as well in his declaration of

" 24th

" 24th of March 1730, registered in his presence by
 " the Parliament of Paris, and afterwards by all the
 " other Parliaments of his kingdom, as in the de-
 " crees which he has passed since that declaration.
 " That nothing, in short, discovers more plainly the
 " spirit of the decree of the 17th instant, than the
 " affectation with which they have attempted to give
 " it certain glosses, by attributing to his Majesty in-
 " tentions very foreign to those which he has al-
 " ways professed, as if they had meant to make
 " him contradict himself. But it is astonishing, that
 " those who have formed such a design, should not
 " have remarked, that the letter written to the Bi-
 " shops, in 1731, which they refer to, in the be-
 " ginning of their decree, contains the same expres-
 " sions, to wit, judgment of the universal Church
 " in point of doctrine, applied to the constitution;
 " and that the King's answers to the remonstrances
 " of the Parliament, the dates of which are likewise
 " stated in the decree, do not shew less clearly, that
 " his Majesty has never ceased to maintain that re-
 " spect and submission, which the constitution requires,
 " from Magistrates, as well as from all other good
 " Catholics.

" His Majesty was not less surprised to find, in
 " the subsequent part of this decree, that the Par-
 " liament are disposed to attribute to themselves the
 " merit and honour of taking pains to prevent a
 " schism from being introduced into the kingdom;
 " as if it were possible to be ignorant of the conti-
 " nual attention paid by his Majesty to the pre-
 " servation of peace and tranquility among his sub-
 " jects; or that the readiest way to promote schism,
 " was to submit to the mandates of the Church,
 " and that disobedience was the means to exclude
 " it. His Majesty hath moreover paid a due atten-
 " tion to the terms of the arret; which imply, that
 " the Parliament has a right to decide upon the in-
 " terpretations which the constitution is capable of,
 " although the King, as hath been more than once
 " expressed by his Majesty, even in his answers to his
 " Parliament,

"Parliament made it an inviolable rule to himself,
 "not to offer any explanation of doctrinal points of
 "religion, but such as had been given by those
 "whom God had fixed upon to be the judges of
 "them, and to give these in their own words. In
 "fine, his Majesty observed, that the Parliament, in
 "defiance of that respect which is due to the King's
 "authority, did not scruple to declare, at the
 "conclusion of their decree, that they persisted in
 "the principles laid down in the resolutions and de-
 "crees they had passed, to the day of their last de-
 "liberation, as if by this means they could give fresh
 "validity to several of them, which the King had
 "annulled on account of the extravagance of those
 "principles, and could set their authority above that
 "of the Sovereign, from whom alone they received
 "it. His Majesty would therefore be wanting in
 "what he owed to Religion, the Church, the State,
 "and Himself, if he suffered a declaration to subsist,
 "which calls more particularly for his censure; as
 "by recapitulating the modifications signified in the
 "decree of registry of the letters patent in 1714,
 "notwithstanding that they have no relation to the
 "present matter, they seem to have aimed only at
 "sheltering themselves again under the vain pre-
 "tence of being governed by national principles, of
 "which his Majesty hath been and always will be
 "the guardian, as he hath sufficiently demonstrated
 "by his attention to suppress by his decrees whate-
 "ver might operate in contradiction to them. Mov-
 "ed by all these various considerations, his Majesty
 "thinks he cannot too soon explain his intentions in
 "respect of a decree so evidently calculated to re-
 "vive a flame, the embers of which he is conti-
 "nually endeavouring to extinguish: And therefore
 "the King, being present in his Council, hath can-
 "celled and annulled, and doth cancel and annul,
 "the decrees of the 17th instant, ordering that they
 "shall be void, and considered as if they had never
 "existed. Further, his Majesty ordaineth, that his
 "declaration of the 24th of March 1730, as likewise
 Vol. I. O "the

“the decrees issued by his Majesty relative to the
 “authority of the constitution, be observed agreea-
 “ble to their form and tenour, and doth of conse-
 “quence direct and enjoin that the said constitution
 “be obeyed with all the respect and submission which
 “is due to an ordinance of the universal Church,
 “in a matter of doctrine. His Majesty doth likewise,
 “in the most express manner, prohibit and bar any
 “decree or deliberation to the contrary, to be had
 “by his Court of Parliament of Paris: And the pre-
 “sent decree shall be read, &c. &c.”

What a scene of peace and tranquility, Sire, would
 your Majesty's dominions exhibit, if the conduct of
 our Parliament were conformable to your prudent
 and religious views! But, in spite of the tenets of
 the Gospel, the uninterrupted authority of tradition,
 the laws of preceding Kings, and the repeated de-
 clarations of your Majesty on a point of so high
 importance, the Ministers of the Church, Curates,
 and even Pastors of the highest rank, are exposed
 to greater insults in the exercise of their duties, than
 they have ever experienced since the foundation of
 the monarchy. Attempts are made to frustrate what
 your Majesty has been labouring to establish for
 more than thirty years;—to abolish our most an-
 cient, respectable, and acknowledged usages; the ne-
 cessity of which is not to be submitted to the ex-
 amination of secular Magistrates, nor can become
 an object of their decisions. A right of jurisdiction
 is usurped in what concerns the exterior adminis-
 tration, and we are left to apprehend the consequen-
 ces of the next step on those parts of the adminis-
 tration and dispensation, which are not exterior!
 How are we to reconcile such unaccountable pre-
 tensions with that explicit text of the Apostle, in
 which he declares that we are not only the Minis-
 ters of Jesus Christ, but also the dispensers of the
 holy Mysteries?

Alas! Sire, shall it be said, that, under the reign
 of a Prince so religious, so just, so powerful, as your
 Majesty, the civil power, which has no authority
 but

but what it derives from you, shall employ it against your most express edicts, nay, against your most absolute prohibitions, to erect a new tribunal for themselves in the temple of the living God, and to expose our most solemn sacraments to profanation?

Shall the world behold under your reign, Sire, the most severe means employed, such as ages least favourable to the Church afford no example of, to force the Ministers of Jesus Christ, in their own despite, in contradiction to their conscience,—to the injunctions of their Bishops—to the regulations of the Ritual—to the ecclesiastical, and to the divine law, to give the holy of holies to persons notoriously unworthy, to public sinners, to such even as make profession of libertinism and infidelity? If the fear of exposing themselves to the crime of prevarication restrains Priests of wisdom and sanctity, the most rigorous treatment shall be the reward of their merit! And all of us, Ministers of Jesus Christ, Chief Pastors of your people, shall find ourselves obliged, either to be guilty of prevarication, or to become the victims of our duty!

God forbid, Sire, that we should hesitate one moment between the two! “The Church,” said St. Cyprian, “is ruined, if threats can discourage and disarm us.” We will cheerfully offer ourselves to suffering and tribulations, and openly profess, that if such scandals are continued, we shall no longer be able to restrain our zeal; we should be inexcusable in not listening to it. We shall be forced to employ the spiritual weapons with which we are furnished; and, if they are not found sufficient to check men resolved to hold them in contempt, we should with our own bodies guard that of Jesus Christ.

This resolution, Sire, with which we are inspired by the Lord, and which has no other source but the fear of rendering ourselves guilty in his sight, is surely more than ever necessary, at a time when your Parliament is proceeding to unheard-of-excesses against some of our coadjutors in the holy mysteries.

Is it possible that we could be insensible to the violence exercised against them? Could we see, without the

utmost pain, diligent and worthy Pastors disgraced and put to flight, because they knew their duty and fulfilled it; because they feared the judgment of God more than the judgment of men; because they obeyed **us**, who are their lawful superiors in the ministry they exercise, and whom they could not have disobeyed in this point, without being criminal before God, and incurring those penalties which the Church inflicts upon prevaricators? The having fulfilled their duty, then, is the cause of their persecution: but, as they are persecuted for righteousness' sake, they are more dear and estimable to us than ever. And if they have trodden before us the path of adversity and disgrace, we will not abandon them, Sire: not only will we employ for them our prayers, our solicitations, our authority, and whatever means Heaven has put into our hands for the defence of its cause; but we will follow them, if such is to be their fate, into prison; we will cry aloud and spare not; the whole world shall know, that if the Curates and the Priests in France are persecuted and troubled in the cause of religion, the Bishops of France are capable of sharing with them the tribulations which a zeal for the sacred rites has drawn upon the Ministers of the faith, and that they feel it to be their duty to live and die for their religion.

It is not, Sire, from a motive of compassion, even to the Pastors in whose behalf we take the liberty of addressing your Majesty, for they have the happiness to be the martyrs of Jesus Christ; it is from a dread of the fatal effects which may be produced by this forced desertion from their cures. How grievous must it be to Bishops, to see that part of the flock which is committed to their care, deprived of those assistances which are necessary for it! to see churches abandoned by their Curates, and fugitive Vicars forced, perhaps, to shelter their orthodoxy among neighbouring nations, as formerly our neighbours, persecuted for the faith, sought an asylum here!

How shall we replace these zealous and faithful Pastors? Those on whom our choice might fall, would be
unworthy

unworthy to succeed them, if they did not mean to follow their examples: and thus every day must produce new seditions, new oppressions, new desertion, new scandal!

We cannot doubt, Sire, but your Majesty must be affected with what, alas! is but too faithful a picture of the evils which religion endures; and the protection you afford to the Church is a pledge to us, that you will suffer the civil power no longer to abuse that authority which you have given it. Indeed, Sire, we do not deny that it is possible some Ministers of the inferior class may have carried matters beyond their due bounds; but, because it is possible that rules may be abused, would it therefore be right to suppress and abolish the rules themselves? What confusion would such an inference lead to? The most holy things are liable to abuse; the sacraments, the word of God, and religion: does it therefore follow, that, to prevent these abuses, we must suppress and abolish religion, holy writ, the sacraments, in a word, all that is held most sacred? The proper remedy for such evil lies in the vigilance and care of the Bishops, the only power competent to prevent, check, and punish excesses, committed in the administration of spiritual matters; who, if they feel themselves obliged to excite, animate, and encourage those in the inferior orders, who may be deficient in point of zeal, feel equally the obligation they have to restrain, moderate, and punish those, whose zeal may be either imprudent, indiscreet, or overbearing.

But what may we not expect from the religious dispositions of a Prince, who hath so often shewn himself truly deserving of the august title of the Eldest Son of the Church? Yes, Sire, we have a just confidence that your Majesty will come to our aid. How, indeed, is it possible we should doubt, since our cause is not only that of Episcopacy, but that of the universal Church, of the most holy Sacrament, of Jesus Christ himself!

Plunged in the deepest sorrow, we conjure you, Sire, vouchsafe to employ the authority you have received from God, to repress, as you have already done on less important occasions, the incroachments of the civil powers.

By cancelling a decree so fatal to religion, and so contrary to your Majesty's views, as that of the 18th of April——by annulling the different decrees relating to it, and all the proceedings which have been had in consequence——by ordering that all the edicts and all the declarations which we have recited to your Majesty, and particularly the 34th article of the edict of 1695, be faithfully carried into execution:——in a word, by enforcing all that obedience which is due to your orders, Sire, you will restore liberty, to the holy Ministry, and dignity to the Altars, you will dry up the tears of the truly pious, you will put a stop to the scoffs of infidels, and complete the work you have ever been labouring to accomplish, the preservation of the rights of the sanctuary.

Paris, 11th June, 1752.

Signed,

Of *Paris*.
Of *Cambray*.
Of *Aix*.
Of *Sens*.
Of *Toulouse*.

} Archbishops.

Of *Orange*. (Louis ancient Bishop)
Of *Langres*.
Of *Nîmes*.
Of *Bayeux*.
Of *Carcassonne*.
Of *Metz*.
Of *Meaux*.
Of *Bethleem*.
Of *Cahors*.

} Bishops.

Of *Troyes*.

Of *Dijon*.

Of *Perpignan*.

Of *Trequier*.

Of *Avranches*.

Of *Chartres*.

Of *Aps*.

} Bishops.

The Abbé de *Coriolis*, Agent.

The Abbé de *Castries*, Agent.

Examined and certified by Us, Counsellors to the
King in his Council of State, and Agents-Ge-
neral of the Clergy of France ; Paris, 27th of
June 1752.

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